

A STUDY OF KILUGURU SYNTAX WITH SPECIAL  
REFERENCE TO THE TRANSFORMATIONAL HISTORY OF  
SENTENCES WITH PERMUTED SUBJECT AND OBJECT

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is divided into three parts. Part I is a general introduction to Kiluguru. It aims at supplying basic information about Kiluguru phonology, morphology and syntax. The layout and terminology is basically the same as that found in introductory Grammars of other Bantu languages.

Part II studies a particular type of sentences, namely, sentences with permuted Subject and Object. After showing that these sentences are remarkably different from Passive Sentences, it is argued that the sentences in question arise from the placement of focal emphasis on the Subject. This is normally expressed by a pseudo-cleft construction in which the Subject appears as predicate nominal. It is subsequently argued that sentences with permuted Subject and Object result from the reduction of the pseudo-cleft construction to a deceptively simple structure through Relative-Pronoun deletion and other subsidiary transformations. It is further argued that the construction in question is derived not directly but by way of analogy. Numerous examples are used to illustrate each stage of the argument.

Part III explores briefly the question of 'focus' and related concepts and argues that the form in which a sentence can occur in surface structure in Kiluguru is partly determined by the rules governing the distribution and realization of sentence stress. It is further suggested that the use of the absolute form of the verb and of double negatives is intimately connected with this phenomenon.

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### ABBREVIATIONS

AM = Agreement Morpheme  
 HLK = Highland Kiluguru  
 IO = Indirect Object  
 LLK = Lowland Kiluguru  
 OC = Object Concord  
 RP = Relative Pronoun  
 SC = Subject Concord  
 SM = Sentence Modifier

### OMISSIONS

Page 11, fourth line from the top, read:

Second person and third person singular are ku- and ka- respectively. The third person relative pronoun is ya-.

Page 186, second line from the top, after full stop, read:

All relativized NPs in postverbal position must make this leap.

## PART I - GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND

Ki-Luguru<sup>1</sup> is the language spoken by approximately 260,000 people living in Morogoro Area in Eastern Tanzania. The native speakers of the language are known as Wa-Luguru and the land inhabited by them is called U-Luguru.<sup>2</sup>

U-Luguru lies approximately 100 miles inland, west of the Indian Ocean just south of the railway line which runs from the sea port of Dar-es-salaam (the present capital of Tanzania), through Central Tanzania, to the border lake port of Kigoma, in Western Tanzania.

The country is largely mountainous. A range of uneven mountains stretches from north to south cutting right through the heart of U-Luguru, and thus effectively dividing the country into two parts. The majority of the Wa-Luguru live on the slopes of these mountains, but the plains round the mountains also support a substantial number of people. Because of cold and poor vegetation mountain tops are generally uninhabited.

The Wa-Luguru are surrounded by a number of Bantu-speaking communities. These communities are: Vidunda and Sagara to the west; Kaguru and Kwere to the north, Zaramo, Kutu and Kami to the east; Pogoro and Bend to the south. Historically relations between these communities have always been cordial.

Prior to the advent of colonial rule the Wa-Luguru had a loose form of organised self-rule based on the

clan system. Accordingly, the entire population was divided into a dozen or so clans. Supreme authority lay with the clan elders. No clan claimed superiority over the other. Members of the same clan are considered as brothers and sisters, therefore marriage between them is out of the question. Agriculture was the main source of livelihood. Land was controlled and distributed also on a clan basis. Each clan appears to have acquired a claim to a particular patch, or patches of land,<sup>3</sup> since time immemorial.

Linguistically, Ki-Luguru is by all available standards<sup>4</sup> a Bantu language. Despite remarkable internal dialectal differences, there is no doubt that the Wa-Luguru feel that they share a common linguistic heritage that marks them as distinct from the surrounding communities. Mutual intelligibility is not the crucial factor here. The crucial factor is 'timbre', that special quality of speech embodied in rhythm and intonation. Mutual intelligibility is particularly high between Ki-Luguru and some of the neighbouring tongues, but a speaker is recognised by his rhythm, which betrays his 'foreignness' or 'nativeness', as the case may be.

The presence of a high degree of mutual intelligibility between Ki-Luguru and related languages raises a fundamental question of linguistic classification. Should Ki-Luguru be accorded a language or dialect status? No native speaker of Ki-Luguru who has had

the opportunity of learning Zaramo, Kami or Kutu or Kwere, can seriously deny the close similarities between these languages and Ki-Luguru. I have no doubt myself that a careful study will reveal that these languages have a great deal of common phonological and morpho-syntactical features, to say nothing of a high degree of common vocabulary. This question will be taken up again below.

### 1.1 Previous Studies

Apparently nobody has hitherto undertaken to do a systematic study of Ki-Luguru. Some early missionaries are said to have attempted to make a documented collection of some basic facts of Ki-Luguru, but because of lack of encouragement, and sometimes of positive discouragement from their superiors, the attempt did not yield any fruitful result. My enquiries have revealed no trace of the existence of such a collection anywhere.

Although Ki-Luguru may indeed have escaped systematic documentation, it has not entirely escaped the notice of Bantu scholars as is attested by the number of references to it in Bantu literature.

#### (a) Harry H. Johnston:<sup>4</sup>

Johnston, one of the early pioneers in the classification of Bantu languages, makes a few remarks about Ki-Luguru.<sup>5</sup> In his classification he accords it a dialect status, maintaining that, like Kami and Kutu,

Ki-Luguru must be seen as a dialect of Dzalamo. No indication is given as to how this conclusion is reached. Instead, Johnston provides us with copious vocabularies of substantives, ~~na~~<sup>m</sup>erals, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, verb roots, together with prefixes and concords from Dzalamo and Kami-Kutu-Ruguru, treating the latter languages as one.

As a native speaker of Ki-Luguru, I have little difficulty in recognising and accepting as Ki-Luguru approximately ninety per cent of his entries in the Kami-Kutu-Ruguru column. Bearing in mind that Johnston's entries here are largely taken from Kami, as the following statement of his suggests:

"The Ki-Xutu and Ki-Luguru dialects are little known. All that is recorded of them goes to show that they resemble Kami." A score of ninety per cent is significant. It indicates that to accord to these languages the status of dialect of the same language is not altogether a vacuous claim.

I have also found that most of the characteristics attributed to Dzalamo by Johnston are also attributable to Ki-Luguru:

(1) t, k, g, tend to become h especially after nasals. This feature, absent in Highland Ki-Luguru, is still noticeable in Lowland Ki-Luguru; thus:

HLK: n + tula > nula (= I broke)

LLK: n + tula > nhula (= I broke) or ni-tula

(2) Dzalamo retains the use of the preprefix. So does Ki-Luguru.

Dzalamo:            PPr        Pr        Stem  
                      i        - Ki - nhu    (= a thing)

Ki-Luguru:            i        - ci - nu    (= a thing)

(3) Class 6 prefix "takes the unusual form gama-"

This is probably a mistaken analysis. gama- is a complex of two distinct elements; viz. a preprefix ga- and a prefix ma-. The same situation obtains in Ki-Luguru:

Dzalamo:            PPr        Pr        Stem  
                      ga        - ma - zi    (= water)

Ki-Luguru:            ga        - ma - Zi    (= water)

(4) Class 16 prefix is ha or ba.

Both are attested in Ki-Luguru and are in complementary distribution. ba replaces initial ha in emphatic reduplication:

English	Ki-Luguru	Derivation	Emphasis
here	a - ha	<--- ha - ha	Neutral
here here	ba - ha	<--- ha - ha	Emphatic

(5) Class 10 prefix is Dzi or Zi.

I suspect that this is also a misinterpretation. Dzi or Zi are not nominal prefixes but are pronominal prefixes or preprefixes. In Ki-Luguru, as well as in many other Bantu languages, the Class 10 nominal prefix is Nasal. It would be surprising if Dzalamo is an exception to this general rule. I do not believe it is.

Ki-Luguru:  $\frac{\text{PPr}}{\text{Zi}} - \frac{\text{Pr}}{\text{N}} - \frac{\text{Stem}}{\text{goma}}$  (= drums)

Dzalamo: Zi - N - goma (= drums)

(6) Second person and third person<sup>(P-S)</sup> relative pronoun is ya-. This is in perfect harmony with the situation in Ki-Luguru, provided that one recognises the extra complication in Ki-Luguru which requires the deletion of the consonant k- in non-absolute constructions:

	<u>Absolute</u>	<u>Non-absolute</u>
2nd Person:	Ku-a - Kuja	uu - Kuja (= you eat)
3rd Person:	Ka-a - Kuja	aa - Kuja (= he eats)

(7) "In the conjugation of the verb may be noticed the employment of the -ile (-ire) preterite suffix suppressed in Swahili."

In Ki-Luguru this 'preterite' suffix is only used in dependent and in negative clauses. It is not clear whether this distinction also obtains in Dzalamo. It would appear that in Kiswahili the -ile suffix was used also in independent clauses, as is attested by the following quotation from one of the well known Swahili writers:<sup>5b</sup>

Ya zamani yakomile yamebaki kukumbuka,

Ni mapito yapitile zamani yamefanyika,

Na tokea siku ile Mkwawa anatajika,

Katika watu wa kale ambao ni watukuka.

Judged by the above observations Dzalamo and Ki-Luguru are indeed similar. Whether the similarity should be interpreted as a case of pure coincidence, or as a result of borrowing or a pointer to a common historical development is open to debate. However,

the odds against coincidence and borrowing are overwhelmingly heavy. Coincidence and borrowing are plausible explanations for isolated incidents of linguistic similarity. But similarity embracing such a wide range of phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical features cannot convincingly be accounted for by a theory of coincidence or borrowing, however ingeniously constructed that theory may be. The only reasonable alternative is to postulate a unique period of common historical development for the two languages. However, in the absence of reliable criteria for measuring language evolution and testing degrees of affinity it is wise to cast a cautious doubt on Johnston's classification claim and await further exploration of data and perfection of methods.

(b) M. Guthrie:

Malcolm<sup>l</sup> Guthrie is another scholar of Bantu languages in whose work we find a number of references to Ki-Luguru. In his monumental work 'Comparative Bantu' (1971), we find no less than twenty entries from Ki-Luguru and indications of some of the phonological reflexes of Ki-Luguru prefixes. In some of his articles, notably in 'Gender and Numbers in Bantu Languages'<sup>6</sup> and 'Observations on Nominal Classes in Bantu Languages', he cites Luguru examples to illustrate some of his points.

Guthrie (1948) classified Ki-Luguru in Zone G, Group 30, No. 35. With Ki-Luguru in Group 30 are



numbered eight other languages viz. Zigula, Nhwale, Zaramo, Ngulu, Kami, Vidunda, Sagala.

Thus, although there are discrepancies between Johnston's classification and that of Guthrie's, in the final analysis, they are both agreed that Ki-Luguru belongs within the same group as Zaramo, Kami and Kutu. For Johnston these four are dialects of one language, whereas for Guthrie they are autonomous languages displaying common features with many other languages.

Like Johnston, Guthrie does not state clearly what precisely the main criteria of his classification were. Indeed there is a suggestion from Guthrie himself to indicate that his zone G classification was not based on any common linguistic characteristic when he says:

"Since there are few if any features peculiar to this zone, it is simplest to describe the differentia one by one." (p.48).

If there are no common features peculiar to this zone, why must it constitute a distinctive zone at all? None of the eighteen differentia mentioned by Guthrie is universally attested.

There are two observations that Guthrie makes which are of particular relevance to our later discussion. I will quote in full the relevant parts here and refer to them later in the work:

(1) "The suffix -ile occurs in most languages except those in groups 20-40. A peculiar feature of some of these, however, is that although this suffix does not occur in affirmative tenses, it does in negative tenses e.g. in Vidunda (38):

hatukol-ile (= we did not work)

where the base -kolile is not used in any affirmative tenses." (P.49.)

(2) "KAGULU (12) is unusual in having tenses in relative clauses which do not occur in main clauses e.g. in:

Gano mabihi gonihandile

(these are the trees I planted)

go- is a special relative prefix and the base -handile is apparently not used in principal tenses." (P.50.)

The suffix -ile occurs in similar environments in Ki-Luguru. It would therefore be interesting to know whether the use of this suffix in Vidunda and Kagulu is governed by similar syntactic constraints as in Ki-Luguru.

## 1.2 Dialects Situation

It is not possible to state categorically how many dialects there are in Ki-Luguru. What I intend to do here is to highlight some outstanding differences that are readily noticeable even to a stranger and provide a general picture of some of the factors responsible for those differences. My claims are based on personal experience and observations made during my stay in various parts of U-Luguru.

Ki-Luguru can be said to divide into two major dialects: Lowland Ki-Luguru (LLK) and Highland Ki-Luguru (HLK). As the terms indicate, the former variety is spoken by the Wa-Luguru living on the plains, the latter is spoken by those living up on the mountains. Each of these two major dialects sub-divides further into several sub-dialects, each more subtle and difficult to characterise.

There seems to be a greater degree of variation in Lowland Ki-Luguru than in Highland Ki-Luguru. The reason for this is probably connected with the fact that the Wa-Luguru living on the plains live in close contact with several other linguistic communities, like Kutu, Kami, Kaguru etc. Besides sharing common boundaries, they have in common also a good deal of social and cultural-economic activities. The Wa-Luguru living on the mountains had little direct contact with the outside world. Hence they have preserved a remarkably different accent from that of their tribesmen on the plains. There are also phonological, morphological and syntactic markers for these two dialects that are unmistakeable. The following are some of these features:

(1) Phonological markers:

LLK	HLK
/g/ = [g] e.g. [genda]	= [ɣ] e.g. [ɣenda]
/l/ = [d] e.g. [diibwe]	= [l] e.g. [liibwe]

These sounds are phonologically and morphologically conditioned in a different way in each dialect.

## (2) Morphology:

## (a) Personal Pronouns:

	LLK	HLK
I	(a)-niye	nene/ne
You	(a)-gue	guegue/gue
We	(a)-tui-(ye)	tuetue/tue
You	a -mwe	mumwe/mwe
They	a -wo	wawo/wo

## (b) Augment Class 6:

	LLK	HLK
	a-	ga-
e.g.	a-mazi (= water)	e.g. ga-mazi (= water)

## (c) Verbal subject concord: 1st person singular:

LLK	HLK
ni-	{n-} {ni}

ni occurs in relative tense non-past and past tense with object infix.

This is one of the major areas of difference because it has far-reaching consequences for speech, especially with regard to nasal assimilation and combination. The n- of HLK always combines with the verbal stem in past tense, whereas ni- of LLK does not, e.g. past tense formation:

	LLK	HLK
lima (dig)	ni-lima	(I dug) = n-lima > ndima
haala (fetch)	ni-haala	n-haala > maala
seka (laugh)	ni-seka	n-seka > seka
Thus: LLK:	nilima,	nihaala, niseka,
= HLK:	ndima, (I dug)	maala, (I fetched)
		seka (I laughed)

The difference between the two is quite striking. The cause of the difference is simply the presence/absence of a vowel with the nasal consonant.

In HLK *ni-* is a marker of first person (past tense) is used whenever there is an object infix e.g.

I dug it = *ni-ci-lima*  
I it dug

I laughed at him = *ni - mu - seka*  
I him laughed

There is another effect following from the shape of the 1st person verbal marker. This is connected with the operation of the Ganda Law.<sup>7</sup>

	LLK	HLK	Ganda Law
logga (say)	<i>ni-logga</i>	<i>n-logga</i>	<i>&gt; ndogga &gt; nogga</i>
lunga (join)	<i>ni-lunga</i>	<i>n-lunga</i>	<i>&gt; ndunga &gt; nunga</i>
bunda (hit)	<i>ni-bunda</i>	<i>n-bunda</i>	<i>&gt; mbunda &gt; muunda</i>
genda (go)	<i>ni-genda</i>	<i>n-genda</i>	<i>&gt; ygenda &gt; yenda</i>

Thus: LLK: *nilogga, nilunga, nibunda, nigenda*

= HLK: *nogga, nunga, muunda, yenda*  
(I said) (I joined) (I hit) (I went)

Again the difference is striking.

### (3) Syntactic markers:

Here are some of the outstanding features in the imperative with first person Object pronoun infix:

LLK	LLK	HLK
&		
HLK		

Laga! (hit) *ni-lage!* (hit me) *n-laga! > ndaga!* (hit me)  
mu-lage! (hit him) *mu-lage!* (hit him)

Thus: LLK: *nilage* *mulage*

= HLK: *ndaga* *mulage*  
(hit me) (hit him)

Presumably the difference is again to be accounted for in terms of the shape of the 1st person singular Object marker. But since here there is also a difference in final vowel, a more sophisticated explanation is called for (see below under 3.6.2).

My discussion and examples will mainly be based on Highland Ki-Luguru, the one I am most familiar with.

Like many other languages in Tanzania, particularly those near the coast, Ki-Luguru is fast losing ground under the tremendous impact of Swahili which has always been, in this area, the medium of instruction in schools and the language of all official local dealings, such as meetings, court procedures, sermons etc. The onslaught of Swahili on Ki-Luguru has been noted by Polome (1967) in the following words:

"With the increasing spread of education it is therefore probable that Swahili will more or less quickly oust the lesser Bantu dialects so that there will be a growing number of cases like that of Morogoro, where even the rural Ruguru dialect, which late 19th century records describe as the only currently used local language, is rapidly deteriorating and practically threatened with disappearance." (P.3.)

### 1.3 Orthography

Ki-Luguru, like many other languages of Africa, has no tradition of writing. The need therefore, of having orthographic rules did not arise. However, for my undertaking I need to have a fairly consistent

system of symbols to represent the various sounds of Ki-Luguru. Adopting a system of writing already in use for other African languages would be the easiest and possibly the wisest thing to do, but I find the various writing systems currently in use somewhat inadequate. I will, therefore, discuss briefly the major orthographies currently in use and then propose a modified system which will be used in this work.

The various writing systems used by writers of African languages can be reduced into four:

(a) Lepsius-Meinhof System:<sup>8</sup>

Essentially this system advocates the use of Roman letters wherever possible and the employment of diacritics when the Roman letters are found inadequate. For example, the symbol n could be written with two different diacritics to represent two different sound values:

n like in 'nenge' = (n)

ṅ like in 'ṅau' = (ɲ)

n̈ like in 'n̈anda' = (ŋ)

Although this is called the Lepsius-Meinhof system it must be pointed out that occasionally Lepsius's symbols differ from those of Meinhof's:

Lepsius		Meinhof
č	=	ẗz = [c]

The main disadvantage of using numerous diacritics is that diacritics are difficult for an ordinary man to read. Moreover, they are apt to be overlooked in

writing much in the same way as people forget to dot their i's and cross their t's.

(b) The International Phonetic Association System (I.P.A.)<sup>9</sup>

The system recommended by this Association for the transcription of African languages was in direct conflict with that of Lepsius-Meinhof. The Association avoided the use of diacritics and adopted new symbols mainly taken from among the accepted phonetic symbols. Thus, for example, if we compared the two systems we would get the following correlations:

Lepsius-Meinhof:	n´	ʏ	ɛ	o
I.P.A.:	ɲ	ʃ	ɛ	ɔ

The main advantage of the latter system is that it uses one symbol per phoneme without resorting to diacritics so that the anomaly of using one symbol in ordinary writing and quite another in phonetic writing for the same sound is corrected. For a number of sounds one and the same symbol was often used in ordinary as well as phonetic writing. What the I.P.A. advocated was essentially the extension of the same principle to all sound symbols.

The disadvantage with this system is that the symbols recommended for use are largely unfamiliar to the majority of the people. Symbols like ɲ, ʃ, etc. can only be understood by those initiated into the field of phonetics. For a person who has already mastered one alphabet it is difficult to learn a new one. Another disadvantage is that these new symbols



are not readily found on ordinary typewriters.

(c) International African Institute (I.A.I.)<sup>10</sup>

This institute's policy on matters of orthography was guided by two principles:

- (1) One letter or symbol per phoneme;
- (2) A 'phonetic' letter is better than a Roman letter with a diacritic.

The actual symbols adopted by I.A.I. were broadly similar to those of I.P.A. However, the I.A.I. was much less theoretical than I.P.A. in so far as they only adopted a phonetic symbol when there was no equivalent single orthographic symbol. For example *j* was preferred to I.P.A.'s *d͡ʒ*.

In practice, the I.A.I. did not adhere firmly to their principles. By employing the complex symbol *ny* for the phonetic equivalent (*ɲ*) they obviously violated the principle of 'one letter one phoneme'. Similarly, on the question of affricates, it is not clear whether the principle was adhered to or not. Symbols like *pf* and *ts* were freely employed by I.A.I. without further scrutiny.

The main disadvantage of the I.A.I. system is that, like the I.P.A. system, it uses unfamiliar symbols. The ideal embodied in their principles was excellent but their own practices fell short of that ideal.

(d) Swahili Orthographic System:

The orthographic system that has for a long time

been used in Swahili transcriptions was born of a principle first put forward by Sir William Jones in 1788. The principle was 'Vowels as in Italian, Consonants as in English'. A strict application of this principle has resulted in the presence of many double-letter symbols in Swahili. Thus:

Swahili	I.A.I.
ngh	ŋ
ng	ŋg
ch	c
sh	ʃ
etc.	

The obvious disadvantage of the Swahili system is that it is misleading. By using two letters to represent one sound one is mistakenly led to believe, or think, that the sound thus represented is a result of a conflation of two or more sounds e.g.

ngh < (nasal + stop + aspirate)  
           (n)      (g)      (h)

This obviously is not true.

The main advantage of the system is that unfamiliar symbols are totally avoided.

The four systems of writing have each had the support of eminent scholars and are in use in various parts of Africa. After weighing the relative merits of each of them, I have decided not to adopt any of them in toto, but to pick whatever is good from any system and then set up my own alphabet suitable for

Ki-Luguru and convenient to me. The table below shows my symbols and the equivalent symbols in the other systems:

Mine	I.A.I.	I.P.A.	Lepsius	Meinhof	Swahili
a	a	a	a	a	a
b	b	b	b	b	b
d	d	d	d	d	d
e	e	e	e	e	e
f	f	f	f	f	f
g	g v o	g v o	g	g	g gh
h	h	h	h	h	h
i	i	i	i v	i v	i
j	j	d <sub>3</sub>	dž	dž	j
k	k	k	k	k	k
l	l	l	l	l	l
m	m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n	n
p	ny	p	ṅ	ṅ	ny
ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ṅ	ṅ	ngh
o	o	o	o	o	o
p	p	p	p	p	p
v	pf v	pf v		pv v	vy v
s	s	s	s	s	s
c	c	c	č	tž	ch
t	t	t	t	t	t
z	ts z	ts z	ts z	ts z	z
u	u	u	u	u	u
w	w	w	w	w	w
y	y	y	y	y	y

As can be seen our column contains no diacritics and no double-letter symbol. Although there exists phonetic distinction between pf/V, ts/Z, this distinction is phonologically conditioned in Ki-Iuguru. Hence we are able to use only one symbol, leaving it to phonology to state the alternation rules.

#### 1.4 Word Division

At the moment one can discern two trends among writers on African languages on the question of word boundary placement. One trend maintains that whatever belongs together phonologically (and perhaps syntactically) must also be written together without spacing. The extreme manifestation of this trend is called conjunctivism. The other trend is guided by the principle of 'disjoining as much as is reasonably possible'. The extreme manifestation of this is called disjunctivism.

Before looking closely into the arguments advanced to support either trend, it is better to summarise what is commonly agreed. Except for a few odd cases it is generally accepted that:

(a) Lexical categories, like nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs should always be written separately i.e. treated as separate orthographic words.

e.g.	Noun	Adjective	Verb	Adverb
	Imwana	imguhi	Kakala	hasi
	the child	short	past-sit	down

(b) Concordial elements should not be written separately but conjointly with the word they govern.<sup>11</sup>

SC + V-Stem: Written form

Ka - Kala → Kakala

(c) Noun prefixes, preprefixes and verbal extensions should likewise be written conjointly with the noun they determine or the verb whose meaning they further determine.

e.g. Preprefix + Prefix Stem: written form

i - mu - ana → imwana

V-root + Extension + Extension: written form

Kal - il - il- → kalilila

Disagreement prevails in the mode of representing peripheral elements like particles, prepositions, the copula, locative prefixes etc. For a vivid illustration of what the disagreement looks like in practice we will give the two orthographic versions in Ki-Luguru of the following English sentences and phrases:

1. The child's knife
2. He cut himself with a knife
3. That is not a knife
4. The child and a dog

Conjunctivist representation:

1. Gumage guemwana<sup>12</sup>
2. Ke<sup>2</sup>t<sup>2</sup>ema nagumage
3. Aguo simmage (baye)
4. Imwana nayumbwa

Disjunctivist representation:

1. Gumage gua imwana
2. Keetema na gumage
3. Aguo si mmage (baye)
4. Imwana na yumbwa

The conjunctivist approach is firmly established in the southern part of Africa, mainly through the influence of C. Doke. Doke uses this approach consistently in his writings as the following sentences show:<sup>13</sup>

e.g. Inja yami nomsila wayo  
(Dog my and-tail its)

= My dog and its tail

Inzindlu zasemsizini  
(Houses of-the-kraal)

Doke's argument in support of conjunctivism is mainly phonological: "Accentuation then is the only guide by which we know whether particles of speech are to be regarded as independent or forming part of a compound word."<sup>14</sup>

Doke also maintains that in each word or word group in Bantu there is one and only one main stress and that for most languages the stress falls usually upon the penultimate syllable. From this he derives his guiding principle of word boundary placement; "One main stress, one word." In practice, this simply means that everything that clusters around the main stress must also be so clustered orthographically. Functional words, lacking main stress as they usually do, will therefore have to be written conjunctively with lexical-category words.

Guthrie also advocates conjunctive writing but for different reasons. He proposes morphological and syntactic criteria for determining word boundary. He rejects Doke's criteria as unsuitable with the following words:

"One result of the approach used in this paper is that we must assert that a given part of a sentence displays certain phonetic characteristics just because it is a word, and not that it is a word because of these characteristics." (Guthrie, (1970) p.6)<sup>15</sup>

Two sets of criteria are proposed by Guthrie:

- (a) Grammar of movement: possibilities of isolation, interpolation or omission, substitution, interruption and transposition.
- (b) Grammar of relationship: Syntagmatic relationships into which a segment has entered or could enter.

Although these principles sound attractive, it must be remembered that these are principles normally used by linguists to determine identity of grammatical functions, not form. They may prove singularly inappropriate when used to determine identity of orthographic form or structure. I find this to be the case with most of the examples chosen by Guthrie to illustrate the working of his principles:

- (a) Genitive particles:

The English sentence "the knives of the stranger are big ones" is disjunctively rendered in Swahili as:

Visu vya mgeni ni vikubwa (5 words)

(Knives of strangers are big)

Guthrie proposes to render it as:

Visu vyamgeni nivikubwa (3 words)

He correctly observes that 'vyam<sup>3</sup>eni' can be replaced by 'vyake' as in:

Visu vyake nivikubwa = (His knives are big),  
invoking the principle of substitution, which for him reads as follows:

"If a given segment of a sentence can be replaced by another which can be shown to be at once a distinct piece and grammatically similar, then there are strong reasons for regarding such a segment as a distinct piece too.",

he concludes:

"If therefore it is found that 'vyake' is a distinct piece, 'vyamgeni' is almost certainly one too."

(id.p.10)

This conclusion is obviously inappropriate since it confuses identity of function with identity of form. Moreover the two pieces are in no way similar in structure.

'Vyake' can be analysed into:

Prefix + a + Possessive Stem

vi + a + ke

What is special with this structure is that the possessive stem has no inherent gender and cannot occur alone i.e. is non-autonomous. 'Vyamgeni' on the other hand can be analysed into:

Prefix + a + N-Pref + Stem

vi + a + m + geni

Here the last two elements, viz. N-Prefix and stem, form a distinctive detachable unit since one can correctly say:

Mgeni amekuja (The stranger has come)



It should also be pointed out that the following construction is equally acceptable:

Visu vyake mgeni ni vikubwa

(= The knives of the stranger are big ones)

This shows that the structural cohesion between 'vya' and 'mgeni' is extremely shaky - since the possessive stem - Ke can be interpolated between the two elements.

Encliticization of the 'possessive' adjective will remove still further the 'vya' from 'mgeni' as the following equally acceptable sentence shows:

Visuvye mgeni ni vikubwa

(= The knives of the stranger are big ones)

I believe it is much simpler to state grammatical operations such as possessive stem attachment and possessive encliticization if 'vya' is kept separate from 'mgeni'. For, if 'vya' is written conjunctively with 'mgeni', an additional grammatical statement of detachment will have to be made, at one point or another, in order to enable the possessive element to be free for re-attachment to the left.

With regard to 'nivikubwa', it does not require much searching to see that this kind of representation is bound to obscure certain paradigms. In fact, Guthrie's substitution test would work out well here:

Visu vya mgeni    ni            vikubwa    (Present Tense)

Visu vya mgeni    vilikuwa    vikubwa    (Past Tense)

Visu vya mgeni    vitakuwa    vikubwa    (Future Tense)

It is obvious that ni, vilikuwa, vitakuwa, represent

different tense forms of one and the same verb -wa (= be). Although ni is a defective form, there is no strong justification for writing it conjunctively with the predicative adjective or nominal since its corresponding past and future forms are never represented conjunctively. Writing it separately has the perceptual advantage of preserving its paradigmatic relationship with other tense forms of the verb wa. Guthrie argues that ni must be written conjunctively with 'vikubwa' because no interpolation is possible between the two. However, this question of non-interpolation, if it is true, applies equally strongly to the past and future forms of the copula verb. Yet Guthrie does not advocate the conjunctive writing of these latter forms.

Similarly, it does not require much searching to discover that the conjunctive preposition na in Swahili is in many ways independent of the noun following it.

Regarding na Guthrie says:

"In the case of na there is the further fact that in some sentences a segment like 'na-ubuúngá' can be replaced with another such as na-bo, the two being grammatically equivalent. Now -bo does not occur as a distinct piece anywhere else in the language, and here nothing whatsoever can be interpolated at the junction, so we cannot make a break in na-bó. If then we write nabó, we have to write naubuúngá, since these two segments are grammatically comparable."

(ib.p.21)

First of all, there is a simple rule in Swahili as well as in Ki-Luguru (and I suspect also in Bemba) which obligatorily encliticizes a pronoun to a preposition whenever the preposition (or particle) is followed by a non-stressed pronoun.

Swahili		Ki-Luguru
na mimi→na-mi	(with me)	na nene → na-ni
na wewe→na-we	(with you)	na guegue → na-gue
na yeye→na-ye	(with him)	na yeye → na-ye
na kico→na-co	(with it)	na cico → na-co
etc.		

Such non-stressed pronouns occur regularly in the left dislocation transformation of prepositional NPs in Ki-Luguru. Whenever a prepositional NP has been preposed or dislocated, the sentence must obligatorily retain a pronominal copy of the dislocated NP. Such a pronominal copy is of necessity minus stress.

e.g. Imwana            koka            na gumage  
       The child        left            with the knife

Left Dislocation:

- \* Na gumage imwana koka
- \* Gumage imwana koka na
- Gumage imwana koka na-guo
- (naguo < na gu-guo)

It is therefore confusing to equate 'naguo' with 'na gumage' without taking into account the grammatical processes involved in the derivation of 'naguo'.

Secondly, the fact that the following sentence is unacceptable:

\* Na-gumage imwana koka

indicates that there is no strong cohesion between 'na' and 'gumage' to justify their being written conjunctively. Indeed, dislocation requires that they should be disjuncted. It would simplify matters a great deal if they were not conjuncted in the first place. One would then need only three rules for the operation in question, viz. pronoun copying, NP transposition and pronoun encliticization.

Finally, another example of how the disjunctive writing of conjunctive na can greatly simplify grammatical statements is the following:

Petri na Juma woka

Peter and Juma have left

Juma na Petri woka

Juma and Peter have left

'Petri na Juma' is a conjoined NP. One characteristic of such a conjoined phrase is that the order in which the conjoined nouns occur is grammatically of no consequence, assuming that the binder remains constant. If, however, the binder is attached to the second noun, one will have to provide first a rule that will detach the binder from the second noun before allowing the rule of optional positional exchange between nouns so conjoined to apply, since the following sentence is not acceptable:

\* Na Juma Petri woka

Whatever the merits of conjunctive writing are, it seems to me that such a system is certain to increase the number of movement rules in grammatical description and is also bound to obscure rather than clarify the structure of the language. Curiously enough this last point was also very much in the mind of Professor Guthrie:

"To write a language in unbroken sentences would not only make reading almost impossible, but would also obscure the structure of the language." (ib.p.5.)

The system of writing he advocates however, apparently leads to precisely what he would like to avoid!

In our discussion and illustration therefore, we will stick to the following principles of word division:

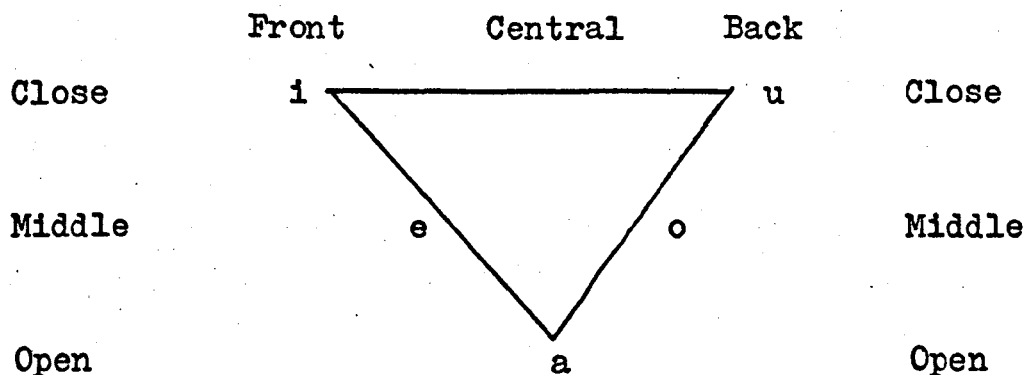
(1) Copula, conjuncts, prepositions and particles will be disjunctively written unless there is reason to do otherwise under certain grammatical constraints, such as encliticization.

(2) Locative markers, mu, ku, ha, will be written conjunctively with the noun they govern. I do not regard these markers as prepositions, although many others do, but as prefixes. There are, however, strong arguments for taking either position (see 3.2.2. below).

## CHAPTER TWO: PHONOLOGY

### 2.1 Vowel System

It appears to me that a five-vowel system is quite adequate to cope with vowel contrast in Ki-Luguru. I will therefore postulate for Ki-Luguru five underlying vowels as illustrated in the vowel diagram below:



- |                            |                 |                      |
|----------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| /i/ as in 'lima' (dig)     | /l <u>i</u> ma/ | : close-front vowel  |
| /e/ as in 'leka' (abandon) | /l <u>e</u> ka/ | : mid-front vowel    |
| /a/ as in 'laga' (hit)     | /l <u>a</u> ga/ | : open-central vowel |
| /o/ as in 'lola' (behold)  | /l <u>o</u> la/ | : mid-back vowel     |
| /u/ as in 'luma' (bite)    | /l <u>u</u> ma/ | : close-back vowel   |

#### 2.1.1 Vowel Coalescence

A complex of an open vowel immediately followed by a closed or middle vowel will *normally* be reduced to a long middle vowel except when the second vowel bears inherent stress. Thus:

- |                       |                                |           |                             |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|
| <u>a</u> + <u>i</u> > | /e/ e.g. Ka - <u>i</u> ta >    | /keeta/   | (= he poured)               |
| <u>a</u> + <u>u</u> > | /oo/ e.g. Ka - <u>u</u> ka >   | /kooka/   | (= he left)                 |
| <u>a</u> + <u>e</u> > | /ee/ e.g. Ka - <u>e</u> leka > | /keeleka/ | (= he carried)              |
| <u>a</u> + <u>o</u> > | /oo/ e.g. Ka - <u>o</u> ta >   | /koota/   | (= he used to warm himself) |

These rules operate both within the word as well as across word boundaries unless there is some significant break between the two words in question:

e.g. Kagula isomba > /Kaguleesomba/

He bought a fish

Leka ukulila > /Lekookulila/

Stop crying.

Cases in which coalescence does not take place because of the presence of inherent stress on the second vowel are usually limited to those in which the second vowel is a morphemic unit representing an object infix:

e.g. Ka-u-ja > /kauja/

he it ate

he ate it

Ka - i - bena > /Kaibena/

he it broke

he broke it

It should however be pointed out that the reflexive object infix does not apparently bear inherent stress since it does not obey this general rule. Thus:

Ka - i - tema > /Keetema/  
he self cut

as opposed to:

Ka - i - tema > /Kaitema/  
he it cut

### 2.1.2 Vowel Reduction

In Ki-Luguru vowel reduction occurs most frequently in the following environments:

(a) Whenever two identical vowels occur in immediate succession. In this case the vowels merge into one lengthened vowel, orthographically represented by two vowels here for lack of better notation:

e.g. Ka -anza > /kaanza/  
 he PAST begin

li-i-bwe > /li<sup>h</sup>-ibwe/  
 a stone

(b) Whenever the class prefixes /ci/ /vi/ and /zi/ are followed by a vowel initial stem the /i/ of the prefix is dropped and the vowel of the stem is lengthened.

e.g. ci - umba > /cuumba/  
 a room

zi - ose > /zoose/  
 (the) all

Vi-etu > /veetu/  
 Prefix-our

### 2.1.3 Disyllabification

The close vowels /i/ and /u/ become semivowels when they are immediately followed by another vowel:<sup>15a (p. 32e)</sup>

e.g. li - aḡgu > /lyaḡgu/  
 mine

lu - aḡgu > /lwaḡgu/  
 mine

gu - ose > /gwose/  
 all of it

### 2.1.4 Vowel Re-inforcement

Vowel initial verbal stems are usually reinforced by a semi-vowel in the imperative mood, unless the initial vowel itself is /i/ or /u/:

e.g.	Stem	Imperative
	- eleka	/yeleka/ (carry on the back)
	- anza	/yanza/ (commence)
	- oka	/yoka/ (roast)

The semi-vowel /w/ is never used for this purpose. However, an unwary eye may easily be led to think that /w/ is also used for reinforcement in cases like the following:



Stem	Reflexive	Imperative
-laga (hit)	- i - laga (self-hit)	/wilage/ (hit yourself)
	- i - yuha (self exert)	/wiyuhe/ (exert yourself)

The /w/ that occurs in front of the reflexive i must not be construed as a reinforcement element but as a subject pronoun, second person singular. Thus, /wilage/ is derived from /u - i -lage/, which can be analysed as:

Subject - Object - Verb stem - Final Vowel

u            i            lag            e

However, this argument is by no means conclusive as there is no inherent reason why a reflexive object imperative must have a subject pronoun while other imperatives are normally subjectless.

As is well known, there is a difference between:

mu - lag - e (hit <sup>him</sup> ~~me~~)

and u- mu - lag - e (do hit <sup>him</sup> ~~me~~)

The former is a direct imperative, the latter is an exhortation. Likewise there is no reason why a similar distinction could not be drawn between:

i - lag - e (hit yourself)

and u-i - lag - e (do hit yourself)

A /w/ reinforcement hypothesis would maintain a firm distinction between the two types of expression arguing that the former always occurs with a reinforcement /w/ and the latter with a subject u. In practice, it is the attitude of the speaker that determines the force of the expression.

#### 2.1.5 Vowel Harmony

There are in Ki-Luguru, like in most Bantu languages,

systematic constraints on the sequence of vocalic segments especially in the verbal derivational system. If we discount the passive and reversive extensions, we can generalise the rule of vowel harmony in verbal derivation by saying that the extensional or derivational vowel is /i/ whenever the last vowel of the verb stem is one of the peripheral vowels, viz. /i/, /a/, /u/; otherwise the extensional vowel is /e/:

e.g.	Stem	Extension
	<u>l</u> im - a	lim - <u>i</u> l-a (dig/ )
	<u>s</u> ak - a	Sak - <u>i</u> z-a (seek/ )
	<u>z</u> ul - a	zul - <u>i</u> l-a (dissolve/ )
But	<u>l</u> ol - a	lol - <u>e</u> l-a (behold/ )
	<u>s</u> ek - a	Sek - <u>e</u> l-a (laugh/ )

It is important in this rule to talk of "the last vowel of the stem" rather than the root vowel because derivation is a recursive process. A mistatement of the rule would have had results for words like 'beta' (=fold):

Stem	Extension 1	Extension 2
beta fold	bet - <u>u</u> l - a unfold	bet - <u>u</u> l - <u>i</u> l - a unfold for

The last extensional vowel -il- is conditioned by the previous extensional vowel -ul- and not by the root vowel bet-.

Vowel harmony in 'reversive' derivation operates slightly differently. Here the extensional vowel is /u/ in all cases except when the last vowel of the stem is /o/ in which case the extensional vowel is also /o/.

e.g.	Stem - Suffix	Reversive
	hund - a	hund - <u>ul</u> -a ( bundle vs scatter)
	daz - a	daz - ul-a ( sew up vs tear)
	kom - a	kom - <u>ol</u> -a ( solidify vs dent)

The passive extension, as will be seen later, invariably begins with /i/:

e.g.	Stem	Passive Extension
	baw - a	baw - igw-a (pluck)
	lum - a	lum - igw-a (bite)
	loz - a	loz - igw-a (point at)
	lim - a	lim - igw-a (dig)
	lek - a	leki - igw-a (abandon)

#### 2.1.6 Vowel Length

It is sometimes difficult in Ki-Luguru to distinguish between a phonologically conditioned long vowel and two identical vowels. Stress placement is one of the best clues to the distinction:

e.g.	Ka - o - lola	/kólola/	= he is looking
	ka - o - loka	/kolóka/	= he is crossing

whereas in /kolola/ the stress is on the third syllable from the final, in /koloka/ the stress is on the second syllable. The rule for stress placement in Ki-Luguru (see 2.3) says that stress falls on the third mora from the end of a word. We must therefore assume another mora between /ló/ and /ka/ in /kolóka/ which can best be represented by doubling the vowel /kolóoka/.

There are many verbs in Ki-Luguru manifesting the same characteristics as /looka/. They will all be treated

as containing two underlying vowels.

e.g.	tiima = thatch	CVV <sub>i</sub> C
	deega = rejoice	CVV <sub>e</sub> C
	duuma = roar	CVV <sub>u</sub> C
	zaama = sink	CVV <sub>a</sub> C
	boota = twist	CVV <sub>o</sub> C

It is often suggested that such verbs should be derived from a CVC/VC structure in which the VC segment right of the stroke represents an extensional morpheme, the assumption being that the intervocalic C got deleted in the course of history. This suggestion is strongly supported by the fact that the loss of intervocalic consonant in derivation is still common with the consonant /l/:

e.g.	Simple	Derived	C/Deletion
	lil-a	lil-iz-a	liiza (= cry/cause to cry)
	lol-a	lol-ez-a	looza (= see/show)

The consonant deletion hypothesis is further strengthened by the ability of many such verbs to change or alternate final consonants.

e.g.	looka	looga	(= cross/cause to cross)
	zuuka	zuula	(= fall off/disrobe)
	toola	tooza	(= slip off/err)

Not all verbs with two identical vowels find such alternative derivations, but quite a substantial number of them do. And by so doing they lend support to the hypothesis that CVVC stems should not be considered as simple stems.

Another environment in which it is convenient to postulate an extra mora is in those verb stems whose

second syllable has a nasal compound.

e.g. ka - o - loŋga /kʌo loŋga/ (= he is speaking)  
 ka - o - hinda /kʌo hinda/ (= he is closing)

The stress placement rule requires the division of such expressions into four morae:

Morae:	4	3	2	1		4	3	2	1
Word:	kʌo	lo	ŋ	ga		kʌo	hi	n	da
		↑					↑		
		Stress					Stress		

General rules of lengthening:

(1) A stressed vowel is normally slightly lengthened

e.g. baluwa;

(2) A vowel resulting from coalescence is also slightly lengthened:

e.g. ka - o - loota;

(3) A vowel which fulfils both of these conditions is significantly lengthened:

e.g. ka - o - lila;

(4) Two identical vowels in immediate succession are pronounced as one significantly lengthened vowel:

e.g. deega;

(5) A vowel preceding a nasal compound is usually slightly lengthened:

## 2.2 Consonant System

I would like to postulate a maximum of twenty consonants for Ki-Iuguru:

	Labial	Alv <sup>e</sup> olar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p b	t d	c j	k g	
Fricative	f v	s z			h
Nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Lateral		l			
Semi-vowel	w		y		

## Examples:

Phoneme:	Word <sup>16</sup>	Transcript	Gloss
/p/	gu-m-peela	/gumpeera/	grove tree
/b/	li-(i)-biki	/liibiki/	tree
/t/	li-(i)-tama	/liitama/	maize-cob
/d/	li-(i)-dago	/liidago/	cave
/c/	gu-m-cele	/gumcele/	rice
/j/	i-N-jogolo	/ijogolo/	cock
/k/	gu-m-Kila	/gumkila/	tail
/g/	gu-m-gunda	/gumgunda/	field
/f/	i-N-fimbo	/ifimbo/	stick
/s/	i-N-sale	/isale/	friend
/h/	i-m-hawi	/imhawi/	witch
/m/	gu-m-mage	/gummage/	knife
/n/	i-ci-nena	/icinenana/	loins
/p/	i-ci-pehe	/iciphe/	small goat
/ŋ/	i-ci-jembe	/icijembe/	small girl
/l/	u-lili	/ulili/	bed
/w/	u-wiila	/uwiila/	song
/y/	li-(i)-yega	/liiyega/	shoulder
/v/	u-lu-vulu	/uluvulu/	leaf
/z/	u-lu-zabi	/uluzabi/	rope

## 2.2.1 Consonant Clusters

Only two types of consonant clusters are permissible in Ki-Luguru:

### (a) Homorganic nasal + Voiced Stop Consonant.

e.g. <u>mb</u> ewa	/mbewa/	= rat
<u>ŋ</u> goma	/ŋgoma/	= drum
<u>ɲ</u> anda	/ɲanda/	= house
<u>c</u> anza	/canza/	= plot (house)

### (b) Consonant + semi-vowel:

e.g. <u>k</u> wembe	/kwembe/	type of fruit
<u>u</u> swa	/uswa/	yeast
<u>ɟ</u> walo	/ɟwalo/	stumble
<u>j</u> wajwala	/jwajwala/	type of bird

A combination of nasal + consonant + semi-vowel is also common:

e.g. <u>mb</u> wali	/mbwali/	= beer
<u>b</u> ondwa	/bondwa/	= crow

## 2.2.2 Rules for Consonant Clustering

Nasal-plus-consonant clustering has far-reaching consequences on the features *composition* of the cluster, depending on the nature of the consonant involved. The following are some of the *points* to be observed in the process of clustering:

### (a) Nasal assimilation:

The nasal has four places of articulation: bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar. Which of these articulations will occur in combination with a consonant depends on the nature of the consonant itself. The assimilation rule requires that a nasal should adjust itself articulatorily to the consonant with which it forms a cluster:

## (b) Syllabic vs. Nonsyllabic nasals:

It is important to distinguish two kinds of nasals in Ki-Luguru, viz. syllabic and nonsyllabic nasals. A syllabic nasal is a nasal consonant capable of bearing stress. A nonsyllabic nasal is not capable of bearing stress. Nasal assimilation occurs only with the latter type of nasal.

I have found that /m/ is the only nasal consonant that can function as a syllable in Ki-Luguru. This is a morphologically conditioned phenomenon since the /m/ can function as a syllable only when it is an allomorphic realization of the mu- Class prefix (i.e. Classes 1,3-&18). Such a morphologically conditioned syllabic nasal can precede any consonant.

e.g. mhulo, mluzi, mtama, msele  
forest, whistle, maize, drink

The nonsyllabic nasal involved in assimilation is also morphologically conditioned in so far as it normally occurs as a realization of the Class 9/10 prefix or as an allomorph of the first person singular Subject or Object marker. It is this kind of nasal that triggers off all kinds of phonological changes when it is in immediate contact with a consonant or vowel. Some of the changes occurring here in present-day Ki-Luguru can only be explained diachronically. Here I will only indicate the changes that occur on the surface without attempting to formalize the underlying processes. In the examples below the term nasal will refer to the nonsyllabic nasal representing first person singular Subject marker.

1. Nasal → Ø before nasals and before /s/ and /f/  
e.g. Nasal + noola > noola (sharpen)  
Nasal + sola > sola (take)  
Nasal + fuma > fuma (knit)
2. Nasal + Voiceless stop yields a homorganic nasal only  
e.g. Nasal + piima > miima (weigh)  
Nasal + tula > nula (break)  
Nasal + kala > ŋala (sit)
3. Nasal + /h/ yields /m/. e.g. Nasal + handa > maanda (plant)  
N.B. It is quite probable that historically this /h/ derives from : /p/ since the corresponding word in Swahili, for example, begins with



/p/: panda (plant).

4. Notice also the following consonant changes that arise from contact with nonsyllabic nasal:-

- i. Nasal + /l/ > /nd/ : lima    ndima    (dig)
- ii. Nasal + /w/ > /mb/ : wasa    mbasa    (sleep)
- iii. Nasal + /pf/ > /mv/ : pfaala    mvaala    (wear)
- iv. Nasal + /ts/ > /nz/ : tsuuma    nzuma    (run)
- v. Nasal + /ɣ/ > /ng/ : ɣela    ngela    (throw)

pf, ts, and ɣ do not occur elsewhere in our orthography. Elsewhere they are represented as v, z, and g respectively. This has been done in order to simplify the orthography hoping that the following statements will help to make their status clear: /v/ and /z/ are always pronounced as voiceless affricates except after a nonsyllabic nasal. Similarly /g/ is always pronounced as a voiced velar fricative except after a nonsyllabic nasal.

### 2.2.3 Meinhof's Law (Ganda Law)

Meinhof's Law is a more complex form of consonant reduction. This law says that "When two successive syllables both begin with a nasal plus following plosive, the plosive of the first syllable is lost"<sup>17</sup>. This law is fairly well attested in Ki-Luguru:

- e.g. longa: Nasal + longa > ndonga > nonga    (=I said)  
(say)
- bumba: Nasal + bumba > mbumba > mumba    (=I adjoined)  
(adjoin)
- gunda: Nasal + gunda > ngunda > ɲunda    (=I stuck)  
(stick)
- winga: Nasal + winga > mbinga > minga    (=I chased)  
(chase)

There is however one instance where the rule does not seem to apply:

bangula: Nasal + bangula > mbangula \*mangula  
(undo)

Thus 'mbangula' does not undergo consonant reduction.

I can find no motivation for this blocking. Certainly the reason cannot be that 'bangula' is a derived verb. For other derived verbs like 'gondola' (=pluck) do undergo

consonant reduction without a hitch:

gondola: Nasal + gondola > ŋ<sub>g</sub>ondola > ŋ<sub>g</sub>ondola

Finally, it might be worthwhile to point out that although Meinhof's Law requires that the second consonant cluster should contain a plosive for the law to operate successfully there is evidence of a non-plosive optionally exerting a similar influence viz. /z/:<sup>18</sup>

e.g. bunza : Nasal + bunza > m<sub>b</sub>unza > m<sub>b</sub>unza  
(defraud) (optional)

lanza : Nasal + lanza > n<sub>d</sub>anza > n<sub>d</sub>anza  
(taste) (optional)

winza : Nasal + winza > m<sub>w</sub>inza > m<sub>w</sub>inza  
(follow) (obligatory in my dialect)

### 2.2.3 Stress Placement

For determining stress in Ki-Luguru it is better to use the mora rather than the syllable as the basic unit. This seems to be the best way of accounting for stress patterns involving nasal compounds:

e.g. iŋowo	/iŋ <sup>o</sup> owo/	= banana
but iŋombe	/iŋ <sup>o</sup> ombe/	= cow
iŋamo	/iŋ <sup>o</sup> amo/	= filter
but iŋanda	/iŋ <sup>o</sup> anda/	= house

Since this is a regular phenomenon in Ki-Luguru it is appropriate to analyse each nasal in a cluster as one mora. This will enable us to make a simple general statement that stress is regularly placed on the third mora from the end of a word.

In two-mora words stress will naturally fall on the first mora, but as soon as a prefix is added, stress is

shifted one place backwards in order to conform to the general rule of 'third mora from the end' stress placement:

e.g. /bíká/ (tree); /túnda/ (fruit)

but

/líibiki/ in contrast with /liitúnda/

In suffixation too a shift in stress placement occurs only in order to conform to the general rule:

e.g. Leka /léka/ : two-morae (=leave)

Lek-ela /lékela/: no change of stress position

Lek-el-eza (lekéleza): stress moves one step forward

Lek-el-el-ela /lekeléela/: stress moves two steps forward.

In the derivations of verbs with a nasal compound a similar pattern is observed:

e.g. genda /géndá/: (three morae) (= go)

gend-ela /géndela/: a slight shift of stress to the right

gend-el-ela /gendélela/: a further shift of stress to the right.

A full systematic account of stress placement in Ki-Luguru would deal also with secondary stress placement. However, since my intention here is to give only a sketch of some of the basic facts of Ki-Luguru, I will not attempt to deal with secondary stress placement.

#### 2.4 Tone:

No clear evidence of lexical or grammatical tone has been detected in Ki-Luguru. Assuming that all Bantu languages were tonal at some earlier stage, we can only conclude that Ki-Luguru has lost that characteristic. It would be interesting however, to know how Ki-Luguru compensates for that loss.

### CHAPTER THREE: MORPHOLOGY

#### 3.1 Noun Classification

Nouns in Ki-Luguru are divided into classes and genders. Since there is no unanimity in the use of these two terms, I had better define what they will stand for in this study.

The term CLASS will be used to refer to a set of nouns controlling the same set of dependent concord, regardless of the morphological structure of the individual noun. Thus, for example, names of animate beings, except those which inspire fear,<sup>19</sup> control Class 1 concord.

E.g. i-ŋ-olo      m-titu      m: adjectival concord  
       sheep        black

      i-ci-dege    ka-kuimba    ka: verbal concord  
       bird        is singing

Both m and ka are Class 1 concords: In structure, however, /iŋolo/ and /icidege/ belong to different sets of nouns viz. nasal prefix nouns and ci-prefix nouns.

The term GENDER will be used to refer to the recurrent semantic difference that underlies a set of classes to which a noun stem can belong. Accordingly a pair of classes<sup>20</sup> in the oppositional relationship singular/plural constitutes a single gender:

e.g.	Singular:	Ci-tabu	Class 7	} Gender 7/8
	Plural:	Vi-tabu	Class 8	

However, the concept of gender must not be confined to the singular/plural opposition. There are also genders with a single class or with more than two classes. Genders with a single class are sometimes referred to as 'collective

genders' because they lack the singular/plural opposition, but I think the term 'collective' is slightly misleading in view of the fact that only one such gender can truly be said to refer to collectivity. The rest seem to refer to abstractions:

e.g. ga-mazi water	Class 6	(collective)
ga-mavuta oil	Class 6	(collective)
u-zelu whiteness	Class 14	(abstraction)
u-ku-soma reading	Class 15	(abstraction)

All these have no singular/plural opposition.

Examples of genders manifesting more than two classes:

Singular Class 9	Enumerative Plural Class 2	Non-Enumerative Plural Class 10
i-mene goat	wa-mene goats	zi-mene goats
i-fulafu ant	wa-fulafu ants	zi-fulafu ants
i-somba fish	wa-somba fish	zi-somba fish

It is also possible to have two genders, each manifesting the singular/plural opposition, sharing a common stem that unites them semantically. This kind of opposition is found in nouns referring to fruits and fruit trees:

e.g. li-i-tunda fruit	Cl.5 (Singular)	gu-m-tunda fruit trees	Cl.3 (Singular)
ga-ma-tunda fruits	Cl.6 (Plural)	i-mi-tunda fruit trees	Cl.4 (Plural)

A five class relationship is also possible, though very rare. The only example I have been able to find is

the following:

i-N-kowo Cl.9 (Singular)	li-i-kowo Cl.5 (Singular)	
banana	banana tree	
zi-N-kowo Cl.10 (Plural)	i-mi-kowo Cl.4 (Plural)	
bananas	banana trees	Same class plus form
u-lu-kowo Cl.11 (Singular)	i-mi-kowo Cl.4 (Plural)	
banana leaf	banana leaves	

Whatever one may say about prefixes, it is necessary, in the light of such cases as 'kowo' above, to accept that prefixes do bear some semantic meaning.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, in derived nominals, the choice of prefix is largely dictated by the intended meaning, (see below).

### 3.2 Nominal Structure

Leaving out the question of locative nominals at the moment, it may be said that ordinarily a Ki-Luguru nominal will consist of three segments, two of which are obligatory:

e.g. (Specifier) + Prefix + Stem  
           i           -   mu       -   ana (child)

Specifier<sup>21</sup> refers to the initial segment which serves as a determiner and is optional. Its presence/absence is mainly determined by syntactic environments. These environments will be stated in 4.1 below.

Prefix is that segment which immediately precedes the stem and is largely responsible for determining class membership or concord.<sup>22</sup> The prefix is always assumed to be present even though it sometimes lacks overt phonological realisation e.g. Class 5, prefix i is always deleted unless it is preceded by a specifier or a locative marker.

Stem is that segment of the structure which remains

when the prefix is deleted. This segment can never occur alone in structure.

Table of Ki-Luguru Noun Classification

<u>Meinhof's Number</u>	<u>Specifier</u>	<u>N-Prefix</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
1	i-	m(u)-	i-mu-nu	man
2	i-	wa-	i-wa-nu	men
3	gu-	m(u)-	gu-mu-biki	tree
4	i-	mi-	i-mi-biki	trees
5	li-	(i)-	li-i-bwe	stone
6	ga-	ma	ga-ma-bwe	stones
7	i-	ci-	i-ci-ya	pot
8	i-	vi-	i-vi-ya	pots
9	i-	n-	i-n-nejge	eye
10	zi-	n-	zi-n-nejge	eyes
11	u-	lu-	u-lu-zabi	rope
12				
13	i-	la-	i-la- <sup>a</sup> na	child
14	u-	u-	u-u-bwa	greed
15	u-	ku-	u-ku-lima	to dig
16	i-	ha-	i-ha-nu	place
17	u-	ku-	u-ku-nu	place
18		mu-	no particular noun	

Note that Meinhof's numbering goes beyond 18.

I stopped at 18 because I would like to treat Meinhof's numbers 19, 20 and 21, representing diminutives and augmentatives, on a different scale, namely as secondary recategorizations.<sup>23</sup>



### 3.2.1 Secondary recategorisation

In my view, it is more satisfactory to handle diminution and augmentation as secondary gender categories whose main function is to register the speaker's attitude - one could almost refer to them as 'mood' categories. The meaning conveyed by such recategorisation is usually emotional.

e.g.	<u>Ordinary</u>	<u>Augmented</u>	<u>Suggested Feeling</u>
	li-i-beho (5)	u-lu-beho (11)	amazement or admiration
	li-i-bwe (5)	u-lu-bwe (11)	amazement
		gu-m-bwe (3)	Fear/dislike
	i-ci-ya (7)	li-i-ci-ya (5)	Fear/dislike
	zi-N-nenge(9)	i-mi-nenge (4)	Fear/dislike
	gu-m- oko (3)	li-i-zoko (5)	Fear/dislike
	i-N-hene (9)	li-i-hene (5)	Fear/Dislike

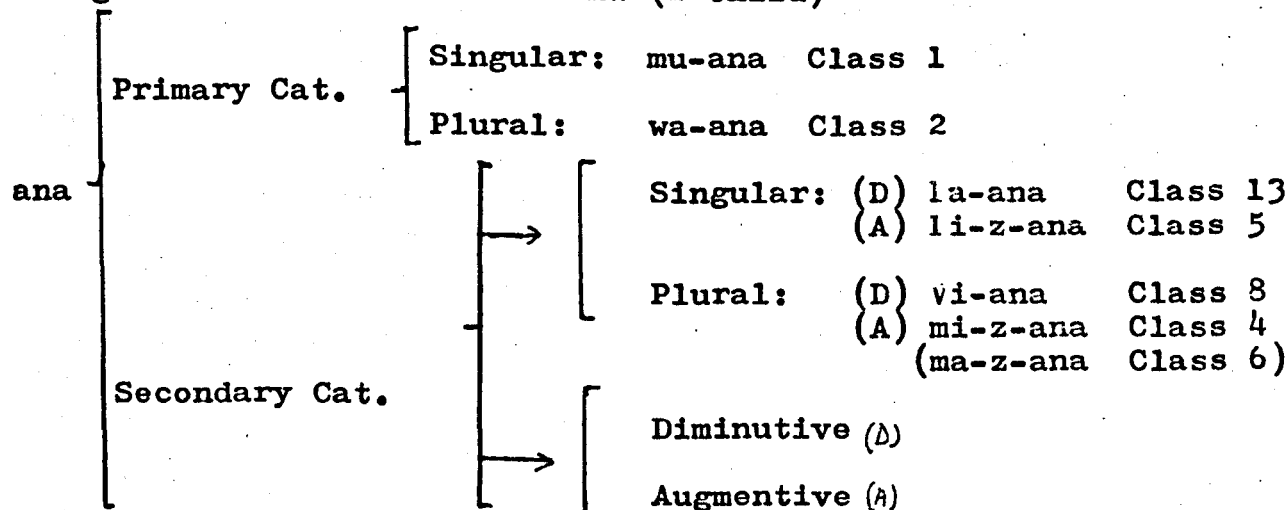
Animates, when recategorised for augmentation, no longer take Class 1 concord. Classes 3, 4, 5 and 11 are the typical classes for augmentative recategorisation. Notice that only one of them is plural viz. Class 4. Hence it can be generalised that for plural augmentation Class 4 is the norm.

Similarly, the diminutive can suggest various emotional attitudes:

e.g.	<u>Ordinary</u>	<u>Diminutive</u>	<u>Suggested Feeling</u>
	i-ci-ya (7) pot	i-la-ci-ya (13)	Derogatory
	i-mu-ana (1) child	i-la-ana (13)	Endearment
	i-mi-biki (4) trees	i-vi-biki (8)	Comparative...
	ga-ma-zi (6)	i-vi-ma-zi (8)	mixed

The suggested feeling is usually contextually determined. The prefix alone cannot determine whether the person is taking a favourable or an unfavourable attitude to an object, but the very fact that he chooses to recategorise the noun is a signal that he is expressing an emotional attitude.

The following diagram summarises the primary and secondary categorisation of the stem -ana (= child)



No doubt recategorisation of ordinary nominals and categorisation of derived nominals has something to do with the semantic aspects of the various noun genders. Attempts have often been made to determine the significance of noun genders. It is probable that at an earlier period of the evolution of Bantu languages the gender system represented a semantic categorisation of objects. However shifts and innovations have obscured this categorisation to such an extent that it is virtually impossible to make a satisfactory semantic rationalisation of the noun system synchronically. The following are the most common gender object noun associations in Bantu languages:

- Gender 1/2 : animates especially people
- Gender 3/4 : plants, atmospheric phenomena, long things
- Gender 5/6 : masses or pairs (6), things inspiring fear
- Gender 7/8 : inanimate objects, worthless objects
- Gender 9/10 : animals, many everyday objects x
- Gender 11 : long thin things, times of day x
- Gender 14 : abstractions, substances x

Gender 9/10 : animals, many everyday objects

Gender 11 : long thin things, times of day

Gender 14 : abstractions, substances

### 3.2.2 Tertiary Recategorization/Locative

Locative nominals pose a special problem. There is only one stem which occurs regularly with at least two of the locative prefixes viz. -nu, giving ha-nu (= place where) and ku-nu (= place: direction).

It is however possible to attach the locative prefix to any concrete noun. The prefix of the noun thus recategorized is not deleted. In secondary recategorization the noun is usually required to drop its primary categorization prefix (see below for exceptions; mechanics of recategorizations).

e.g. Secondary Recat.	Ordinary	Diminutive	
	i-ci-tabu	i-la-tabu	(book)
	li-i-bwe	i-la-bwe	(stone)
Tertiary Recat.	Ordinary	Locative	
	i-ci-tabu	mu-ci-tabu	
	li-i-bwe	mu-i-bwe	
	ga-ma-gulu	mu-ma-gulu	(legs)

Notice that in tertiary recategorization the noun prefix is unchanged but the specifier or preprefix is replaced by the locative prefix. The specifier and the locative prefix are mutually exclusive except with the stem -nu where the locative prefixes ha- and ku- may occur with a specifier:

e.g.	Specifier	Loc-Prefix	Stem
	i	- ha	- nu (place where)
	u	- ku	- nu (direction)

The main reason for regarding the locative as a noun recategorization is the fact that a noun thus recategorized must take a locative verbal concord.

e.g. I-ci-tabu ci-na pica mbili  
(Book has two pictures)

= The book has two pictures

Mu-ci-tabu mu-na pica mbili  
(In book has two pictures)

= There are two pictures in the book

\*Mu-ci-tabu ci-na pica mbili

Li-i-domo li-vimba  
(Mouth (has) swollen)

= The mouth is swollen

Ku-i-domo ku-vimba  
(In mouth (has) swollen)

= There is a swelling in the mouth

\*Ku-i-domo li-vimba

Li-i-lumelo li-koboka  
(Throat blistered)

= The throat has a blister

Ha-lumelo ha-ko boka  
(In throat blistered)

= There is a blister in the throat

\*Ha-i-lumelo li-koboka

Thus whenever the subject noun has a locative prefix the verbal concord must also be locative.

Within the noun phrase, however, the situation is completely different. Here the modifiers must be divided into two groups:

- (a) Adjectives (see below for definition)
- (b) Non-adjectives

When the head noun has a locative prefix by recategorization, the adjective modifier concord will not agree with the locative but with the non-locative class of the noun.

e.g. Mu-ci-tabu ci-kulu  
 (In book big)  
 = In the big book  
 \*Mu-ci-tabu mu-ci-kulu

Mu-N- anda i-N-zelu  
 (In house white)  
 = In the white house  
 \*Mu-N- anda mu-N-zelu

Apparently the locative here embraces both the head noun and adjective as one unit in the following way:

LOC [Noun + adj]

This is one of the reasons why some writers prefer to write the locative marker as an independent particle.

With non-adjective modifiers there is a great deal of freedom as to which kind of bracketing one applies:

e.g. Possessives: Mu-N- anda y-a<sub>9</sub>gu LOC [N + MOD]  
 In house mine  
 = In my house

also Mu-N- anda mu-a<sub>9</sub>gu [LOC + N] MOD  
 In house mine  
 (= mine in)

Demonstrative: Mu-i-kapo yi-la LOC [N + MOD]  
 In basket that  
 = In that basket

also Mu-i-kapo mu-la [LOC + N] MOD  
 In basket that  
 (= there in)

The difference in meaning between the two options is very slight.

As we said at the beginning, no attempt will be made to argue theoretical points. There have been various proposals for dealing with locatives in Bantu. All that I have done is to extend the concept of recategorization

to locatives and recognise them as a special type of recategorization, different from diminution and augmentation.

### 3.2.3 The Mechanics of Recategorization

It was stated earlier that in secondary recategorization the primary class prefix is deleted. This is not always the case.

(i) Monosyllabic and vowel initial stems often retain the primary class prefix in secondary recategorization:

e.g.	Ordinary		Recategorized	
	i-ci-ya	(7)	li-i-ci-ya	(5)
			i-la-ci-ya	(13)
	i-vi-ya	(8)	i-vi-ci-ya	(8)

Notice the relationship between 7/8 and 13/8.

The retention of the singular class prefix between a plural diminutive prefix and the stem is quite common.

e.g.	u-lu- <sup>h</sup> go	(11)	i-la-lu-ungo	Sing. Dim.	(13)
	winnower		i-vi-lu-ungo	Plural Dim.	(8)
	(instrument)				

Such left-over prefixes are of no grammatical consequence.

(ii) The enumerative plural of three class genders involving animates seems to behave in the same way as secondary recategorization by retaining the non-enumerative plural prefix.

e.g.	Singular	Non-enumerative Plural	Enumerative Plural
	i-ci-dege	vi-dege	wa-vi-dege
	i-N-hene	zi-N-hene	wa-N-hene

It must however be pointed out that the enumerative plural in such cases does not take specifier or preprefix, just like the locative.<sup>24</sup>

\*i-wa-vi-dege

Note: Nasal prefix nouns (Class 9/10) Show a good deal of phonological readjustment in secondary recategorization i.e. in diminution and augmentation. The process is exactly the reverse of what happens to a consonant preceded by a nasal as outlined above: (2.2.2)

Nasal Prefix nouns:	Denasalized (Diminutive)
i-N- <sup>24a (p.320)</sup> ene (9) (=imene)	i-la-hene (13)
i-N- <sup>?</sup> guo (9) (=inguo)	i-la-guo (13)
i-N- <sup>?</sup> owo (9) (=inowo)	i-la-kowo (13)

(iii) Since tertiary recategorization does not require the deletion of the nominal prefix, whether primary or secondary, it is possible to have three prefixes occurring with one stem simultaneously:

e.g. 3 2 1 Stem

mu-la-ci-ya (i.e. a combination of classes  
18-13-7 prefixes)  
in the small pot

### 3.2.4 Time Dimension of Locative

The three locative prefixes mu- ku- and ha- are also used to refer to time. Mu- indicates time or position within; ku- indicates direction in space or time; ha- indicates position in place or time relative to someone or some object. Whether the expression has a spatial or temporal reference is primarily determined by the subclassification of the noun that goes with the locative prefix. The subclassification meant here is semantic rather than grammatical:

e.g. Ci-sima (well) refers to place

N-mihe (evening) refers to time

Each of these two nouns can be used with all the three locative prefixes to yield different specifications of place and time respectively. Thus:

Place	Time
mu-ci-sima in the well	mu-N-mihe in the evening
ku-ci-sima to the well	ku-N-mihe towards evening

Only ha- is also used as a subordinator in clauses of time. The other two are never used for this purpose.<sup>25</sup> Ha- is a one-dimension locative.

### 3.2.5 Classless Nominals

There exist in Ki-Luguru a few words which do not control class agreements, are not controlled by such agreements, and cannot be synchronically decomposed into root and affixes. Many such words refer to time:

e.g. Ligolo = yesterday    leloli = today  
 iluvi = tomorrow    ikaca = the day after  
 sambi = now

### 3.2.6 Nominal Derivation

Deriving a noun from a verb involves two main processes. First, it involves changing the verbal suffix -a into the appropriate vowel, the latter being determined by the semantic sense of the noun to be derived. Secondly, it involves affixing the appropriate nominal prefix, again determined by the semantic sense of the derived nominal.

Any of the five vowels may occur with a derived



nominal. /u/ is often associated with derived adjectives:

e.g.	Verb	Adjective	
grow	kula	-kulu	big
harden	koma-la	-komu	hard
ache	tama	-tamu	sick

As a general statement it may be said that derived nominals normally convey one of the following semantic meanings: style, action, result, instrument and agent. Certain meanings are frequently associated with particular terminal vowels of the derived nominal. Thus /a/ is often associated with style or way of doing:

e.g.	Verb	Derived nominal	
	lima	N- <u>lima</u>	(9)
	dig	style of digging	
	kama	N- <u>kama</u>	(9)
	squeeze	style or way of squeezing	
	tambika	N- <sup>t</sup> <u>ambika</u>	(9)
	sacrifice	style of sacrificing	

Terminal vowel /e/ is often associated with result:

e.g.	Verb	Derived Nominal	
	lima	u- <u>lime</u>	(14)
	clear	cleared area	
	hunda	ci- <u>hundue</u>	(7)
	heap up	a bundle	

/o/ is associated with various semantic senses but action and instrument are the most frequent:

e.g.	Verb	Derived Nominal	
	lima	ci- <u>limo</u>	(7)
	cultivate	cultivation	
	kama	n- <u>kamo</u>	(9)
	squeeze	1. a squeezing	(action)
		2. a filter	(instrument)

Verb	Derived Nominal
seka laugh	N-seko (9) laughter (action)
gueka	m-gueko 1. rewarding (action) 2. a reward (object)

Terminal vowel /i/ is also attested in derived nominals. But it is not possible to associate it with any particular semantic sense:

e.g.	Verb	Derived Nominal
	banda close	li-i-baani (5) door
	guguma stammer	ci-gugumi (7) a stammer
	veg-eza make cold	ci-veg-ezi (7) (Agent?) cold (illness)

'Agent' is sometimes associated with the /i/ terminal vowel in other Bantu languages. The case for and against such an association in Ki-Luguru is inconclusive. It would seem to me that the most powerful factors in conveying the sense of 'Agent' is either the Class 1/2 prefix or the causative morpheme /z/ in the verbal stem. In this way, we can treat the presence of /i/ in derived nominals indicating 'Agent or cause' as a secondary indicator.

Hard and fast rules regarding derivation cannot be laid down here. All that we can do and have done is to point out some of the general tendencies in this area of linguistic creativity.

### 3.3. Dependent Noun-Phrase Categories

By this designation we intend to refer to all those items in Ki-Luguru which can occur as modifiers within

a noun-phrase and are dependent on the head-noun with regard to concord. Included under this heading are the following items:

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Adjectives	Ordinals	Demonstratives
Numerals (2-5,8)	Quantifiers	Relative Clauses
	Appertentive	Numeral 1
	Possessive	'Other'

This division into three groups is to some extent arbitrary, but some justification can be advanced for it. The concordial prefixes of Group 1 are always phonologically identical with the concord controlling prefix of the head noun.

e.g. I-ci-ya i-ci-dodo  
pot small

Kasoma vi-tabu vi-datu  
he-read books three

Groups 2 and 3 are completely different from Group 1. (Their concords are often referred to as Pronominal Concords). Group 2 is the most difficult to characterize. However, it has one simple constant feature viz. the use of /u/ as third person singular concord:

e.g. Ordinal	I-mu-ana child	u-a Ku-anza of to begin
Appertentive	I-mu-ana child	u-a Mwenda of Mwenda
Possessive	I-mu-ana child	u-etu out

Group 3 is likewise distinguished by its use of i(u) (=yu) as a third person singular concord.

e.g. Demonstrative	I-mu-ana child	a-yu this
Relative	I-mu- <sup>a</sup> na child	i-olima who is digging
Numeral	Mu-ana child	yu-mwe (ja) one -(certain)
	= a certain child	
'Other'	Mu-ana child	yu-ŋgi - other (different)
	= another child	

There are a number of syntactic features characterizing each of the categories in the various groups that suggest it is better to treat each of the categories separately. The phonological shape of the concord is a relatively poor indicator of the underlying syntactic relationship between a head noun and its modifiers. As can be seen from the table below the main difference between the modifiers ought to be drawn between the {Adjective + } and the rest.

For the sake of having a convenient name by which to refer to each of the groups we will call the groups: Qualifier, Appertentive and Selector respectively.

#### Modifier Concords

<u>Noun Class</u> <u>Number</u>	<u>Qualifier</u>	<u>Appertentive</u>	<u>Selector</u>
1	m(u)-	u-	i(u)-
2	wa-	wa-	wa-
3	m(u)-	gu-	gu-
4	mi-	(y)i-	(y)i-
5	(i)-	li-	li-
6	ma-	ga-	ga-

table contd...

<u>Noun Class Number</u>	<u>Qualifier</u>	<u>Appertentive</u>	<u>Selector</u>
7	ci-	ci-	ci-
8	vi-	vi-	vi-
9	N-	i-	i-
10	N-	zi-	zi-
11	lu-	lu	lu-
12			
13	la-	la-	la-
14	u-	u-	u-
15	ku-	ku-	ku-
16	ha-	ha-	ha-
17	ku-	ku-	ku-
18	mu-	mu-	mu-

### 3.3.1 Modifiers As Noun Phrase Substitutes

One of the characteristics of modifiers in Ki-Luguru is that they can all function as anaphoric pronouns as a result of head-noun deletion.

e.g. Adjective	(Imene)i-m-titu ka <sup>-</sup> aga Goat black lost
Ordinal	(Imene)wa-kane wa-ngu Goat fourth mine
Numeral	(Wamene) wa-datu wa-aga Goats three lost
Quantifier	(Wamene) wa-ose wa-aga Goats all lost
Appertentive	(Wamene) wa Mwenda wa-aga Goats (of) Mwenda lost
Possessive	(Wamene) wa-ko wa-aga Goats yours lost
Demonstrative	(Wamene) a-wa-la wa-aga Goats those lost

Relative	(Imene) i-agile waḡgu Goat which is lost mine
'One'	(Mene) iu-mwe ka-aga Goat one lost
'Other'	(Mene) iu-ḡgi ka <sup>1</sup> -aga Goat another lost

Two pertinent comments:

(a) Unlike the rest of the categories listed above, numerals and quantifiers do not phonologically sound like modifiers. A significant break in speech is always noticeable between the head noun and the numeral or quantifier. It seems more appropriate therefore to treat these two as pronouns in apposition to the head noun, rather than simple modifiers.

(b) The use of the Specifier with some of these modifiers in pronominal function can cause a significant shift in meaning. This is especially true of the numerals and the possessive.

e.g. Wa-datu wa-aga  
Three are lost (i.e. three of them...)

I-wa-datu wa-aga  
(Those that are three) are lost (i.e. the triple  
(TRIPLEX) are lost )

Notice that this is not the same as "the three".

The semantic shift in the possessive is much less noticeable. A much more detailed study of the use of the specifier is necessary before a clear-cut distinction can be made with confidence.

(c) All modifiers follow the head noun in Ki-Luguru. A reversal of this order signifies a predicative use of the noun or the substitutive use of the modifier.

### 3.3.2 Adjectives

We call adjectives all those dependent items, other than numerals, whose concordial prefixes are identical with the prefixes of the nouns they modify. Items of this type are not numerous in Ki-Luguru.

The following are some of the most common ones:

-dodo	small	-titu	black	-bewe	light
-kulu	big	-bisi	green/ unripe	-deke	soft
-lefu	long	-nene	fat	-komu	hard
-guhi	short	-sisili	narrow	-kali	sharp
-du u	red	-gazi	broad	-tamu	sick
-zelu	white	-tito	heavy	-miya	new
-pueke	foolish	-genye	deceitful	-luuso	generous
-pi ga	female	-lume	male	-bala	big (of humans)
-tali	far	}	(These three are limited to occurring with locative prefixes only)		
-duhu	employ				
-behi	near				

Except when used predicatively, all these adjectives will not only take the concord from the head noun, but will also copy the specifier from it, if there is one.

The only comparative grading that is available in Ki-Luguru uses two adverbial particles; 'cidogo' (= rather) and 'sideke' (= over, too much), to indicate 'less' or 'more' than the mean, (i.e. positive).

e.g. gazi                      = broad  
       gazi cidogo = rather broad  
       gazi sideke = too broad

When more than one modifier occurs with one noun the order of their occurrence after the noun depends on the speaker's perspective. 'Relatives', however, normally come after adjectives. Stacking many adjectives on one noun is, in fact, uncommon in spoken language. It will therefore be difficult to elicit from anyone a 'natural' order of modifiers. It is less rare to find more than one adjective used predicatively of the same noun, as the following example shows:

\*Imene imtitu, <sup>19</sup>im<sup>hi</sup>hi, immene,----  
(Goat black short fat )

Imene wake ngu<sup>hi</sup>hi, mnene, kuya mtitu  
(Goat his (is) short, fat 'also' black)

### 3.3.3 Numerals

The numerals 2-5 and 8 take the same type of concord as adjectives: -ili (2), -datu, -ne, -tano, -nane.

While these numbers lack inherent gender, 'decade' has an inherent gender 3/4 and imposes this gender concord on the numeral modifiers that occur with it if the numerals are declinable. Decade = m-longo (Class 3):

e.g. m-longo	gu-mwe	= one decade (= ten)
mi-longo	mi-ili	= two decades
mi-longo	mi-datu	= three decades
mi-longo	mi- ne	= four decades
mi-longo	mi-tano	= five decades
mi-longo	sita	= six decades
mi-longo	saba	= seven decades
mi-longo	mi-nane	= eight decades
mi-longo	tisa	= nine decades



A number between decades seems to divide into two parts, the second part takes concord directly from the head noun gender and not the 'decade' gender:

e.g. Ma-yai [mi-longo- mi-ili] na ma-datu  
(Eggs decade two and three) = twenty-three eggs

### 3.3.4 Appertentive

This construction consists of a prefix, plus a stable element -a, followed by an independent nominal. The prefix involved in this construction is different from that used for adjectives.

(Class) Prefix + a + Nominal

(3) gu- + a + mwenda

(5) li- + a + mwenda

(7) ci- + a + ukusoma

e.g. gu-m-mage gu-a Mwenda  
knife (of) Mwenda's

li-i-gembe li-a Mwenda  
hoe (of) Mwenda's

i-ci-tabu ci-a ukusoma  
book (of)(to read) (= a book for reading )

Just as the 'of' construction in English is ambiguous as to the deep relationship of the nouns tied by it, so too is the case with the appertentive construction in Ki-Luguru.

### 3.3.5 Ordinals

Ordinals are expressed by a complex construction involving the appertentive construction together with a nominalised form of the numerals:

e.g.

Prefix + a + Numeral (Noun)	Class
ci- + a + Ku-anza	first
ci- + a + Ka-ili	second
ci- + a + Ka-datu	third
ci- + a + Ka-nne	fourth
ci- + a + tano	fifth
ci- + a + sita	sixth
ci- + a + saba	seventh
ci- + a + nane	eighth
ci- + a + tisa	ninth

Notice three things with regard to the shape of the numerals:

(a) The infinitive form of the verb 'begin' is used as the supportive numeral indicating 'first':

e.g. Imwanage u-a Ku-anza  
(Child-his (of) to begin)

His first child

(b) The prefix Ka- is used to nominalise the numerals 2-4, but not 5 and 8 as one would have expected from the fact that 5 and 8 are flexible like 2-4 (see above). Moreover, Ka- as a nominal prefix is not found anywhere else in Ki-Luguru. It is however a common diminutive prefix in Swahili and possibly in some other Bantu languages. It may, therefore, be necessary to postulate a special class in Ki-Luguru whose membership is limited to numerals in particular context. In our table of noun classes Ka- would come under Class 12. This fits in very well with the Class 12 marker postulated by Neeussen for Proto-Bantu (see Appendix II).

(c) Numerals 5-9 do not bear a nominal class marker. What is most astonishing here is the fact that numerals 5 and 8, normally flexed for concord, do not admit a nominal prefix. One can regard numerals 5-9 in this context either as classless nouns or as Class 12 nouns lacking an overt class marker.

### 3.3.6 Quantifiers

There are three common quantifying pronouns: -ose, -mwe, -)gi meaning 'all', 'some' and 'many'. As pointed out earlier, these function like pronouns rather than simple modifiers:

e.g. I-wa-ana [wa-ose wo<sup>h</sup>gula]  
(Children all sick)

I-wa-ana [wa-mwe wogula]  
(Children some sick)

I-wa-ana [wa-}gi wogula]  
(Children many sick)

The stretches between brackets sound like a unified comment on the noun previously announced. The best rendering in English would be:

The children  $\begin{pmatrix} \text{all} \\ \text{some} \\ \text{many} \end{pmatrix}$  of them are sick

$\begin{pmatrix} \text{All} \\ \text{Some of} \\ \text{Many of} \end{pmatrix}$  the children are sick

### 3.3.7 Possessive

The possessive modifier is to be distinguished from the appertentive insofar as the former is based on a clitic-like pronoun stem, while the latter is based on a full nominal or a full pronoun. The two constructions however, are basically similar in structure:

Prefix + a + Nominal

gu- + a + Mwenda (full noun) = of Mwenda'

gu- + a + yeye (full pronoun) = of his

gu- + a + -ke (clitic pronoun) = his

The difference gu-a. yeye and gu-a-ke is almost identical with the difference between 'of it' and 'its' in English.

The possessive clitics used in this construction are:

1st p. sing. -ngu; 2nd p. sing. -ko; 3rd p. sing. -ke

1st p. plur. -etu; 2nd p. plur. -enu; 3rd p. plur. -uo

Note that these clitics can sometimes be attached directly to the noun. This occurs especially with two kinship terms: mwana (= child) and mwihwa (= nephew/niece). In this context /k/ is always voiced:

e.g. Mwana wa-a-ko > mwana-ko > mwana-go  
= your child

Mwana wa-a-etu > mwana-etu  
= our child

Mwihwa wa-a-ke > mwihwa-ke > mwihwa-ge  
= your nephew/niece  
(sing.)

Mwihwa wa-a-enu > mwihwa-enu  
= your nephew/niece  
(pl.)

### 3.3.8 Demonstrative

There are four types of demonstratives in Ki-Luguru:

(a) Referring to position close both to speaker and hearer: yu, wa, gu, yi, ga, etc.

(b) Referring to position close to speaker:

yu-no, wa-no, gu-no, yi-no, ga-no etc.

- (c) Referring to position close to hearer:

yu-o, wa-o, gu-o, yi-o, ga-o, etc.

- (d) Referring to position away from both speaker and hearer: yu-la, wa-la, gu-la, yi-la, ga-la, etc.

The forms as given above are used in attributive constructions. In predicative and anaphoric constructions the vowel /a/ is prefixed to these forms:

e.g. Imwana yu-la kolila (Attributive)  
Child that is crying

Imwana yolila a-yu-la (Predicative)  
child who is crying is that (one)

A-yu-la mwana Msina (Anaphoric)  
That (one) is child Msina's  
= That one is Msina's child

Closely related to demonstratives are what may be called Identificatives. These serve to focus attention on the identity of the head noun. This formation is based on the demonstratives insofar as the identification can be derived from the demonstrative form by re-duplicating the pronominal prefix:

- (a) Identification close to speaker and hearer:

yu-yu, wa-wa, gu-gu etc.

- (b) Identification close to speaker only:

yu-yu-no, wa-wa-no, gu-gu-no etc.

- (c) Identification closer to hearer (away from speaker!):

yu-yu-o, wa-wa-o, gu-gu-o etc.

- (d) Identification away from both speaker and hearer:

yu-yu-la, wa-wa-la, gu-gu-la etc.

### 3.4 Pronouns

Although most concordial prefixes can also be used

pronominally, there are also a few independent substitutive pronouns, such as personal pronouns:

	Full Form	Reduced Form	Clitic Form
1st p.sing.	Nene	ne	-ni
2nd p.sing.	gue-gue	gue	-gue
3rd p.sing.	ye-ye	ye	-ye
1st p.pl.	tue-tue	tue	-tui
2nd p.pl.	mue-mue	mue	-mue
3rd p.pl.	wa-wao	wao	-wao

The full form is emphatic and can be used as subject, object or prepositional object. The reduced form can only be used in subject position. The clitic forms are used with prepositions, the emphasis being not on the object, but on the preposition (see above: word division):

- e.g. Guegue <sup>kw</sup>mulaga imwana (= you are hitting the child )  
 Gue <sup>kw</sup>mulaga imwana (= you are hitting the child )  
 Imwana <sup>k</sup>mulaga guegue (= the child is hitting you )  
 \*Imwana <sup>k</sup>mulaga gue

Substitutional pronouns for classes other than Classes 1/2 are identical with the Group (C) type of demonstratives and identificatives. Both demonstratives and identificatives of this type can be used in subject position. In object position, however, only identificatives can occur. After a preposition, if the emphasis is on the preposition, then the demonstrative form is used, enclitically. In reference to a Class 3 noun:

- e.g. Gu-o gu-finala (the one I have in mind)  
 It is-black
- Gu-gu-o gu-finala (the very one I have in mind)  
 It is black
- Not \*Uḡgaye gu-o  
 Give-me it
- But Uḡgaye gu-gu-o  
 Give-me it (that very one)
- Koka na gu-gu-o (Emphasis on Identity)  
 He left with that very one
- Not \*Koka na gu-o
- But Koka na-gu-o (Emphasis on preposition)  
 He left with it

The last three sentences underline the importance of writing the preposition na separately, as suggested earlier in our remarks about orthography. Under specific conditions pronouns must be adjoined to the prepositions; otherwise they are to be regarded as orthographically autonomous units.

### 3.5 Morphological Structure of the Verbal

In outlining the morphological structure of the verbal in Ki-Luguru it is convenient to distinguish four types of morphemes that normally occur within the verbal:

- (a) Stem Morphemes: those morphemes that bear the lexical semantic import of the verbal. A verbal stem can be simple or complex. A simple stem contains no derived morpheme in it. Such a stem is also called 'radical', 'root' or 'base form'.

e.g. Root + Suffix

lim- a

Any stem which can be decomposed into two or more morphemic segments is said to be complex:

e.g.                      Root + Ext + Suffix

limila < lim - il - a

In other words, a complex stem consists of a 'root' plus one or more 'extensional' morphemes. Theoretically, there is no limit to the number of derivational morphemes that can be attached to the verbal root.

(b) Concordial Morphemes: those morphemes referring to subject or object nouns in construction with the verbal, either concordially (i.e. in case of presence of the lexical nouns) or anaphorically:

e.g. Mwalimu ka-ø-m-tow-a imwana  
Teacher past - hit child

Here ka- and -m- are subject and object concords respectively. In the following sentence they are subject and object anaphorae:

Ka - ø - m - tow - a  
He-past-him-hit  
=He hit him

(c) Supportive Morphemes: those morphemes whose presence is purely structurally conditioned. There are two such morphemes: suffixal -a which is required in order to avoid consonant ending structures,<sup>26</sup> and interpositional -ku- which is inserted to act as a buffer between the formative<sup>27</sup> elements and the stem in the non-past indicative tenses of monosyllabic and vowel-initial stems:



e.g. Ka - a - ku - imb - a  
 He-Present-Ku-sing-a  
 He is singing

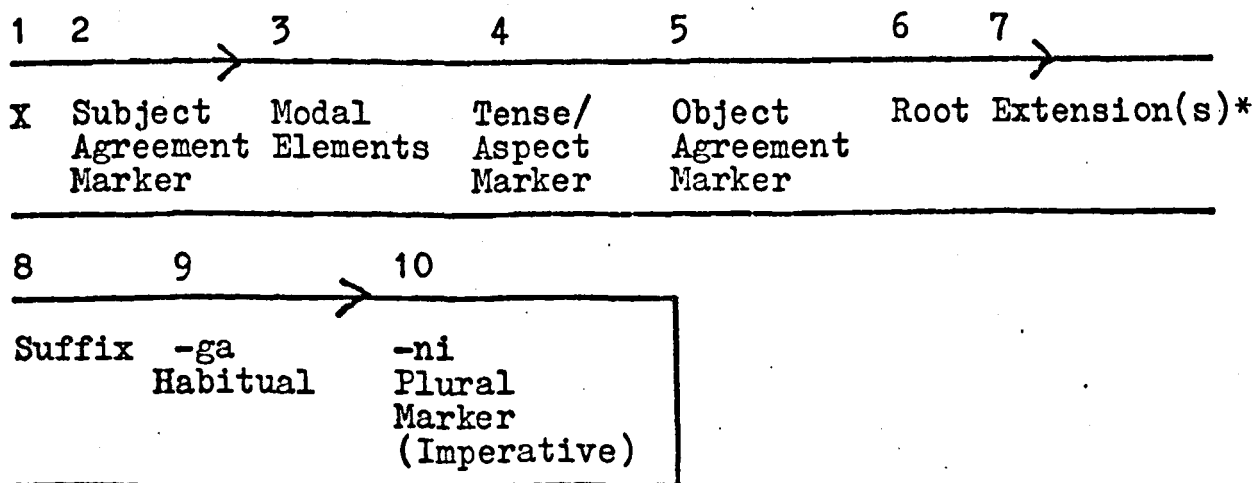
(d) Conjugational morphemes: those morphemes indicating tense, aspect, mood, modalities and many other concepts normally associated with the verb. Many of these concepts are implied rather than explicitly signalled.

e.g. Ka-o-lim-a                      a-lim-e  
 He-~~Pres~~-dig-a                    he-dig-subjunctive

In the second sentence 'alime' the subjunctive is overtly marked, while in the first the indicative mood is implied.

### 3.5.1 Order of Morphemes

There is a certain degree of regularity in the structural position of the above outlined morphemes within the verbal structure. The following diagram represents the order in which elements are likely to occur within the verbal:



\*= recursivity of extensional morphemes

X stands for any possible element that precedes the subject agreement marker such as a relative pronoun or a

negative marker. In fact these are the only two elements that can precede the subject marker.

(a) The Relative Marker:

e.g.           1       2       3       4       5       6       7       8  
 Iyanda i - u - ya - o - mu - zeng - el - a  
 House RP    you    go    now   him   build for suffix  
 = The house which you are going to build for him  
 (Iyanda yuyomuzengela....)

(b) The Negative Marker

e.g.           1       2       3       4       5       6       7       8  
 ŋ - u - ya - o - mu - zeng - el - a (baye)  
 Not you    go    now   him   build for suffix  
 = You are not going to build for him.

Not all aspects are expressed at No.4. The habitual for instance, is expressed by post final clitic -ga (No. 9). Similarly the perfective aspect marker -(il)e always occurs as a suffix. The habitual and the -ile perfective are mutually exclusive:

e.g. ka - ø - lim - a  
 he past dig suffix  
 ka - ø - lim - a - ga  
 he past dig suffix habitual  
 a - lim - ile  
 he dig perfective  
 \*a-lim-a-g-ile  
 \*a-lim-ile-ga

Also not all extensions occur at No.7. The passive extension may occur after the habitual marker -ga.

e.g. Imwana ka - ø - tow - igw-a na ifimbo  
 Child SC-past-hit-passive with a stick  
 The child has been hit with a stick  
 Imwana ka - ø - tow - igw - a - ga na ifuimbo  
 Child SC - past-hit-passive-suffix-habitual with a stick  
 The child is regularly hit with a stick



stems require a supportive -ku- in the indicative non-past tenses if there is no object marker within the verbal. In such cases too the tense/aspect marker is a.<sup>29</sup> Otherwise the tense/aspect marker is o.

Subject	T/A	Ku	Stem	Suffix
ka	a	ku	j	a
he	present	ku	eat	suffix
ka	a	ku	im	a
he	present	ku	stand	suffix
Subject	T/A	Object	Stem	Suffix
ka	o	i	j	a
he	present	it	eat	suffix

(ii). In imperative formation, monosyllabic stems require some supportive element to make them disyllabic:

e.g.	Verb Stem	Imperative
	fa (die)	ku-fa
	nu-a (drink)	nu-wa
	j-a (eat)	di-ya

I have not been able to find a principle which systematically determines the shape or form of the supportive element. Probably the answer lies either in phonology or history or in both.

Apart from these two generalisations, the distinction of different shapes of simple verbal stem has no significant consequences.

However, there is another distinction between stems which has morphological (or phonological) consequences viz. the syllabic weight of the stem. Stems with less than three full syllables take the perfective ending

-ile, the rest take VVC-e, i.e. lengthening of the vowel immediately preceding the final consonant and an -e suffix.<sup>30</sup>

e.g. Past Indicative	Perfective
ka- <del>o</del> -lim-a he-past-dig-suffix	a-lim-ile he-dig-perfective
ka - <del>o</del> -hulik -a he past-hear-suffix	a - hul - i <sup>h</sup> k-e he-hear - perfective
ka - <del>o</del> - lim -il -a he-past-dig-for-suffix (Extension)	a -lim -i <sup>h</sup> l -e he-dig-perfective (dig for)

It appears that the rule determining the form of the perfective is purely phonological. It has nothing to do with derivation - at least not directly. It is however natural to find the VVC-e form occurring most frequently with derived stems because most Ki-Luguru verbs, being disyllabic in their simple form, become trisyllabic on taking on an extension. However, this tendency is by no means universal<sup>31</sup> as the following examples testify:

Simple	Perfective	Derived	Perfective
law-a go out	law-ile	la-v-a take out	la-v-ile
lil-a cry	lil-ile	lii-z-a cause to cry	lii-z-ile

For the rule to operate properly it is also necessary to postulate that a lonely vowel (i.e. vowel minus consonant) does not constitute a syllable. It was agreed earlier that forms like 'lii-z-a' are in fact a result of loss of an intervocalic /1/. If the /1/ had not been lost the perfective form of the causative of 'lila'

would have been lil-iíz-e  
(Stem-VVC-e)

After the dissolution of /1/ the two vowels merge into one long vowel thus destroying the trisyllabic structure, which is the necessary condition for having a V:C-e ending.

### 3.5.2.1 Complex Stems

Although we have so far talked freely about simple verbal stems, we have not indicated that it is often extremely difficult to tell whether a particular verbal stem is simple or complex. Not every derived stem is reducible to a simple stem. Take the following verbs for example:

gubika	inuka	bazula	lakala
cover	stand up	split	burn (intr)

None of them can be reduced to a simpler form in contemporary Ki-Luguru, yet there is something about them which suggests that they are not the minimal forms. Consider the following verbs:

gubula	inula	bazuka	lakaza
uncover	raise	get split	burn (trans)

The closeness of meaning between the former and latter set of words obliges us to postulate some underlying common form from which both pairs are derived:

gub-	inu-	bazu-	laka-
	(in-u-?)	(baz-u-?)	(lak-a-?)

Although these forms do not occur as independent verbs in Ki-Luguru, we know that they provide a substratum for various kinds of derivations or extensions. Hence we regard a verb thus derived as a complex stem verb.

In trying to determine whether a stem is simple or not the following principles are a useful guide:

(a) Contractability: If a stem can progressively be reduced to a simpler form, then that stem is a complex form.

(b) Commutability: If a stem contains extension-like elements, which though not directly reducible, are nevertheless commutable with other extensions (as the examples above), then that too is a complex stem.

(c) CVC-Structure hypothesis: It is generally assumed that Bantu verbs are basically CVC-stem verbs. Any deviation from this is either indicative of an extensional derivation,

e.g. CVC-VC-a	CV-VC-a
hul-ik-a	lo-ok-a
hear	cross

or a result of consonantal loss or some other deletion process:

e.g. VC-a	CVC-a	
im-a	sim-a	as in sim-ik-a (= erect)
stand		

Any stem structure therefore which has more than two syllables must be suspected of being a derived rather than a basic form even if none of the other two tests, contractability and commutability, can be applied successfully.

The three principles have been given in their order of reliability. The last mentioned is the least reliable. However, it can be reinforced by other considerations

such as the fact that the final segment occurs with many stems or verbs and has a characteristic meaning.

e.g.	<u>inama</u>	<u>yegama</u>	<u>guguma</u>	<u>gudema</u>
	bent	lean	stammer	shiver

In so far as they all refer to bodily posture, these words may be said to have some characteristic meaning in common; therefore one can tentatively propose that the m(a) segment is a kind of extensional morpheme with a characteristic meaning.

### 3.5.2.2 Active Extensions

There are about six active extensions in Ki-Luguru, including the passive, applicative, causative, stative, persistive and intensive. These can occur with any verb whose meaning is not incompatible with the semantic value of the extension. However, it would be incorrect to assert or to think that one can always predict the meaning of the resulting complex if the basic meaning of the root and that of the extension are known. The meaning of the resulting complex is sometimes unpredictable. The labels applicative, causative etc., are only approximate semantic characterizations.

- |                  |                                 |      |                               |   |
|------------------|---------------------------------|------|-------------------------------|---|
| (1) Applicative: | -IL/EL-                         | e.g. | <u>Simple</u><br>gend-a<br>go | <u>Derived</u><br>gend-el-a<br>go for   |
| (2) Causative:   | -IZ/EZ-<br>(s)(s) <sup>32</sup> | e.g. | gend-a<br>go                  | gend-ez-a<br>drive                      |
|                  |                                 |      | gu-a<br>fall                  | gu-is-a<br>fell                         |
| (3) Stative:     | -IK/EK-                         | e.g. | ben-a<br>break                | ben-ek-a<br>(be) broken<br>(inchoative) |



			<u>Simple</u>	<u>Derived</u>
(4)	Passive:	-(Iḡ)W-	e.g. ben-a break	ben-igw-a be broken
(5)	Intensive:	-IS/ES-	e.g. loḡg-a speak	loḡg-es-a speak verily
(6)	Persistive:	-El-El/il-il- (reduplication)	e.g. gend-a go	gend-el-a go to (for) gend-el-el-a advance, progress

### 3.5.2.3 Inactive Extensions:

These are more or less fossilized or lexiculised extensions. They occur only with particular verbs:

(7)	Reciprocal:	-an-	e.g. ting- <u>an</u> -a meet	
(8)	Static:	-am-	e.g. in-am-a bent	band-am-a be fastened
(9)	Contactive: (Tenacious)	-at-	e.g. hag-at-a place on lap	fumb-at-a close up in palm
(10)	Reversive:	-u/o- -u(1)	e.g. Suek-a stick in	suek- <u>u</u> /-a draw out
(11)	Inceptive:	-h-	e.g. nene(adj) fat	nene-ha become fat
(12)	Epiphetical: (Connoting; bodily or mental state)	-dl-	e.g. bak-a smear	bak-al-a smear oneself

### 3.5.2.4 Multiple Extensions

The occurrence of several extensional elements with one root form is quite common.<sup>33</sup> The syntactic implications of such combinations will not be discussed in this study. The order in which the extensions will occur cannot be pre-determined with absolute certainty. Yet it is possible to give a general guide as to how the combinations frequently occur:



Table of Verbal Concords

<u>Class Number</u>	<u>Absolute Subject Concord</u>	<u>Relative Subject Concord</u>	<u>Object Concord</u>
1st p.sing.	<u>n(i)</u> <sup>34</sup>	<u>ni</u>	n
1st p.pl.	tu	tu	tu
2nd p.sing.	<u>ku</u>	<u>u</u>	ku
2nd p.pl.	mu	mu	mu
1	<u>ka</u>	<u>a/o</u>	<u>mu</u>
2	wa	wa	wa
3	gu	gu	gu
4	i	i	i
5	li	li	li
6	ga	ga	ga
7	ci	ci	ci
8	vi	vi	vi
9	i	i	i
10	zi	zi	zi
11	lu	lu	lu
12			
13	la	la	la
14	u	u	u
15	ku	ku	ku
16	ha	ha	ha
17	ku	ku	ku
18	mu	mu	mu

Concords of the same gender (or class) are identical in shape except for those underlined.

The Absolute Subject Concord is always the initial

element in verbal structure. The Relative Subject concord however, may be preceded by a negative or relative *clause* marker or both (see 3.5.1). In direct command (Imperative) the subject is never expressed.

e.g. lim-a! = dig

Similarly in Object Relative clauses with a lexical subject the relative subject concord is never expressed if the lexical subject is postponed (see under Objects Relative Clause Formation in Part II).

e.g. Ici-tabu              ci-gul-ile              imwana  
       book                which bought            the boy  
       = the book which the boy bought

The object concord, which is identical in shape with the absolute subject concord, except for the Class 1 ka/mu distinction, normally occurs immediately before the verbal stem in structure. This concord bears a kind of inherent stress which prevents it (if it is represented by a simple vowel) from coalescing with formative vowels (see 2.1.1 above). The presence of an object concord, therefore, renders unnecessary the use of supportive -ku- in monosyllabic and vowel initial stems.

The presence of an object anaphora<sup>r</sup> or a concord in a direct imperative normally triggers off a change in the suffix, from /a/ to /e/:

e.g. lum-a              but              mu-lum-e!  
       bite                him-bite

Whether this /e/ is a product of a coalescence between /a/ and /i/ is subject to debate.

### 3.6. Conjugational Strategies

#### 3.6.1 Infinitive

The infinitive resembles a noun phrase in structure:

(Specifier) + Prefix + Stem

	u	-	ku	-	soma	(= to read)
comparable to	i	-	mu	-	ana	(= child)

By virtue of its morphological structure and of its possible syntactic use as subject and object, the infinitive deserves to be classified with nouns:

U-	ku	-	soma	ku-noga	(Subject use)
To		-	read	is-good	

Kalema	u-ku-ja	(Object use)
he-Past-refuse	to-eat	

By virtue of its ability to carry object infix it resembles verbs. No other nominal has this ability.

e.g. Leka	u-ku	-	m	-	laga	(Object infix)
stop	'to'	-	him	-	hit	

The Specifier may or must be omitted in certain syntactic environments (see 4.1.1).

#### 3.6.2 Imperative

In structure the imperative consists of an optional modal, and an optional object marker, a verbal stem and a suffix. The suffix is either -a or -e depending on whether the verbal stem is preceded by a syllabic segment or not. Thus:

(Modal) + (Object Marker) + Stem + Suffix + (ni)

- |     |    |       |     |   |     |   |   |       |
|-----|----|-------|-----|---|-----|---|---|-------|
| (1) | Ka | -     | mu  | - | lag | - | e | (-ni) |
|     | go |       | him |   | hit |   |   |       |
| (2) |    |       | mu  | - | lag | - | e | (-ni) |
|     |    |       | him |   | hit |   |   |       |
| (3) | Ka |       |     | - | lag | - | e | (-ni) |
|     | go | (and) |     |   | hit |   |   |       |
| (4) |    |       |     |   | lag | - | a | (-ni) |
|     |    |       |     |   | hit |   |   |       |

Example (4) is the most frequently used form of command since the use of a modal as well as the object marker occurs in specific contexts of distance between place of issuing order and of execution of order in the case of modal, and of specificity of object of execution in the case of object marker. If the recipients of the order number more than one, then the clitic 'ni' is always attached to the end of the verb.

Because in some Bantu languages<sup>35</sup> the presence of an object marker in the imperative calls for an additional suffix -i, it has been hypothesised that the suffix -e found in some other Bantu languages is the result of coalescence between the supportive -a suffix and the additional -i suffix. Thus in some languages 'hit' and 'hit him' would be rendered as 'lag-a!' and 'mu-lag-a-i' respectively. According to this hypothesis Ki-Luguru must be one of those languages which, by rules of vowel coalescence, converted mu-lag-a-i to mu-lag-e.

At the moment I see no way of disproving this hypothesis. However, it is much more interesting to try and find out why in the first place there should have been an additional suffix. It appears to me that there is some indication in Ki-Luguru suggesting a kind of 'syllable-balancing' rule. In Lowland Ki-Luguru the equivalent form for the imperative 'hit me!' is:

ni - lag - e  
me - hit - suffix

(assumedly derived from 'ni-lag-a-i')

and 'hit him!' is rendered as:

mu - lag - e (<mu -lag-a-i)  
 him hit suffix

In Highland Ki-Luguru the equivalent expressions  
 are:

n-lag-a /ndaga/  
 me hit suffix

and

mu-lag-e /mulage/  
 him hit suffix

One cannot help wondering why first-person object imperative should end in -a in Highland Ki-Luguru, while all other persons end in -e. What, specifically, makes it different from the rest? Here a comparison with Lowland Ki-Luguru seems to suggest a possible answer:

LLK                    ni-lag-e            /nilage/ (Trisyllabic)  
                          me-hit-suffix

HLK                    n -lag-a            /ndaga/ (Disyllabic)  
                          me hit suffix

Both LLK & HLK    lag-a            /laga/ (Disyllabic)  
                          hit-suffix

Both LLK & HLK    mu-lag-e            (Trisyllabic)  
                          him-hit-suffix

The number of syllables of the basic form of the verb is not altered by the first person object prefix in Highland Ki-Luguru. The prefix is registered onto the verb as a mora, not as a full syllable; but as soon as the object prefix is blown out into a full syllable of its own, occupying a pre-stem position, a tilting to the left is felt in the basic form of the verb. I would like to suggest that the additional suffix -i is introduced in order to redress the imbalance caused by the presence of an extra syllable on the left of the structure.

The question of whether or not it is true that the suffix -e is a result of coalescence affects my argument only marginally in the sense that it could be argued that the status of /e/ and /o/ in vowel-coalescing Bantu languages needs a special study. I believe that these sounds are special. Think of how /a/ and /o/ for instance, alternate as present tense markers (see below).

Finally, it might be useful to point out that the -e found in the environments just discussed should be distinguished from the -e found in the subjunctive mood.

### 3.6.3 Subjunctive

Conjugationally, the subjunctive is distinguishable by four features:

- (1) -e suffix
- (2) Relative Subject Concord
- (3) Can take 'locative' modality -ka-
- (4) Lacks 'overt' tense marker

The structure of the subjunctive form can thus be given as:

1	2	3	4	5				
<u>Subject</u> <u>Concord</u>	+	( <u>Modal</u> ) ( <u>-ka-</u> )	+	( <u>Object</u> ) ( <u>Concord</u> )	+	Stem	+	e
a he		-ka go		-mu him		-lag beat		- e suffix
a he		-ka go				-lag beat		- e suffix
a he				-mu him		-lag beat		- e suffix
a he						-lag beat		- e suffix



Since the subjunctive is used independently only in exhortative and desiderative expressions it is fair to say that this mood is basically a dependent mood. It is often used with a matrix clause to express purpose or complementation:

e.g. a -uk-e = let him go (Exhortative)  
he-go-suffix

Nimuleka a -uk-e = I left him (free) to go  
I left him he-go-suffix (Purpose)  
(free)

K<sup>o</sup>pbama a -uk-e (Complement)  
he wants he-go-suffix

The subjunctive lacks an overt tense marker, but it inherently refers to a point in time relatively later to that of the main verb - it can never refer to a point simultaneous with or earlier than that of the main verb. Hence it can be said to be future orientated. It is however possible to phase out the future into immediate and remote future. Remote future is indicated by an additional operator (see 3.5.7).

In so far as it lacks an overt tense marker and has a future orientation, the subjunctive compares with the infinitive. Indeed, the two act complementarily in certain constructions involving verbs that take infinitive complementation.

Thus: ka-o-bama kulila = He wants to cry

ka-o-mu-bama alile = He wants him to cry

The infinitive is used when the subject of the complement clause is identical with the subject of the main clause. When the two are not identical, the subjunctive is used.

### 3.6.4 Indicative

The indicative can best be described in terms of 'tense' categories. In Ki-Luguru it is necessary to distinguish two sets of indicative tenses:

- (a) Absolute Tenses - those used in absolute affirmation or questioning.
- (b) Relative Tenses ; those used elsewhere.

#### 3.6.4.1 Absolute Affirmative Tenses

There are two of these; the past and the non-past. The relationship between the two can best be captured by the concepts of 'being' and 'becoming'. What we call past is to non-past what 'being' is to 'becoming'. The past is the unmarked of the two.

Structure of the Past Tense form:

	Subject Marker	+	Tense/Aspect	+	{Object (Marker)}	+	Stem	+	Suffix
e.g.	ka he		- $\phi$ zero		-mu him		-lag hit		-a suffix

No modal and no overt tense-marker can occur between the subject and object markers. Supportive -ku- never occurs here either.

The sense indicated by the past tense depends on the nature of the verb, that is whether it is stative, transient, durative etc. Essentially, this is a static tense or a 'Perfectum Absolutum'.<sup>36</sup> The specification of when the action took place, or even whether the fulfilment is of any current relevance, are things left to other mechanisms of the language. Particles like maa (= already), za<sub>a</sub> (= at one time in the past)

and adverbials of time, help to specify some other interesting dimensions of past tense.

	<u>Subject</u> <u>Marker</u>	<u>Object</u> <u>Marker</u>	<u>Stem</u> + <u>Suffix</u>	<u>Dimension</u>
	ka he	-mu- him	-lag - a hit	Non-determinate Past
maa already	ka he	-mu- him	-lag - a hit suffix	Relevant to a point of ref.
zaa at one time	ka he	-mu him	-lag - a hit suffix	Determinate moment in the <u>past</u> , inexpressed
zaa maa at already one time	ka he	-mu him	-lag - a hit suffix	Relevant to a point of ref. in <u>Past</u>
	ka he	-mu him	-lag - a hit suffix	juzi day before yesterday
	ka he	-mu him	-lag - a hit suffix	mwande long ago
	ka he	-mu him	-lag - a hit suffix	sambi a minute ago

Notice that neither 'maa' nor 'zaa' can be used with the last three forms or sentences.

* maa	ka-mu	-lag-a	juzi
already	he him	hit suffix	day before yesterday
* zaa	ka-mu	-lag-a	mwande
at one	he him	hit suffix	long ago
time			

The non-past absolute affirmative tense is always overtly marked by a/o. The choice between a and o is determined by the phonological structure of the verbal stem and presence/absence of object anaphora or concord:

	<u>Subject</u>	<u>T/A</u>	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Suffix</u>
Ordinary Stem	ka	-o	-lag	-a
Vowel Initial Stem	ka	-a	-ku- imbc.	-a
Monosyllabic Stem	ka	-a	-ku- nu	-a
With Object	ka	-o	-mu- lag	-a
With Object	ka	-o	-mu- imb	-a
With Object	ka	-o	-mu- nu	-a (Semantically anomalous)
Reflexive	ka	-a	-i- lag	-a
Reflexive	ka	-a	-i- imb	-a

Thus /a/ is only used before a reflexive object marker and before supportive -ku- used in objectless monosyllabic and vowel initial stems.

The uses of the non-past tense are also many and varied. The unifying concept in its uses is the affirmation of non-termination as yet. It refers to something either actually taking place or going to take place sooner or later. The action thus described has not yet reached its terminative stage - indeed, it might not even have started!

e.g.	<u>Subject</u>	<u>T/A</u>	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Dimension</u>
	ka	-a	-ku-uk	-a	<u>sambi</u>
	he	non-past	leave	suffix	soon/now
	ka	-a	-ku-uk	-a	<u>iluvi</u>
	he	non-past	leave	suffix	tomorrow
<u>maa</u>	ka	-a	-ku-uk	-a	
already	he	non-past	leave	suffix	

The Past Absolute Affirmative tense is always marked by  $\phi$ . Thus the distribution of absolute tense markers is:

Past:  $\phi$

Non-Past: a/o

### 3.6.4.2 Relative Tenses

There are three relative tense forms: Progressive, Simple and Perfective.

#### (a) Progressive Relative Tense (= Durative)

This is marked by a doubling of the vowel of the subject marker.<sup>37</sup> Thus:

	<u>Subject</u> <u>Marker</u>	+	<u>Aspect</u> <u>Marker</u>	+	<u>Object</u> <u>Marker</u>	+	<u>Stem</u>	+	<u>Suffix</u>
e.g. (1)	u- you		u- Progressive		mu- him		lag- hit		a suffix
(2)	u- you		u- Progressive				lag- hit		a suffix

Like all other relative tenses, the progressive has no inherent or absolute time of reference. It indicates simultaneity relative to the time of the main verb:

- e.g. Ka-ku-uy-a a-o-lila  
He comes back crying
- Ka-uy-a a-o-lila  
He came back crying
- Ka-za-ku-uy-aa-o-lila  
He will come back crying

#### (b) Simple Relative Tense (= non-Durative)

This is the same as the progressive relative tense except that there is no doubling of the vowel of the subject marker. It has no aspect marker and indicates simple timelessness. It is mainly used in object questions, which, as we shall see, is a kind of reduced relative clause.<sup>38</sup> Thus:

<u>Subject</u> <u>Marker</u>	+	<u>Object</u> <u>Marker</u>	+	<u>Stem</u>	+	<u>Suffix</u>
e.g. U- you		mu- him		lag- hit		a suffix      vihi why?

Unlike the progressive, the simple relative tense is never used in predicative complement construction<sup>39</sup> following verbs of perception, feeling, experience etc.

e.g. \*Ni-mu-ona      a-mu-lag-a  
I him saw      he him hit suffix  
(I saw him hit him)

Rather:

Ni-mu-ona      a-o-mu-lag-a  
I him saw he - progressive - him hit  
(I saw him hitting him)

To some extent the distinction between durative and non-durative tense in Ki-luguru is comparable to the distinction between present progressive and present non-progressive in English in so far as one is time-bound and the other is not.

#### (c) Perfective Relative Tense:

The perfective resembles the simple relative tense in structure except that instead of -a it has -(il)e<sup>40</sup> for the suffix. Thus:

<u>Subject</u> <u>Marker</u>	+	<u>Object</u> <u>Marker</u>	+	<u>Stem</u>	+	<u>Suffix</u>
a- he		mu- him		lag- hit		ile perfective

Again the perfective does not refer to time but to a state relative to the time of the main verb. Just as the progressive refers to simultaneity, the perfective refers to precedence.

The relative tense forms provide the basis for

marking negation and relativisation. The absolutive forms are never used for this purpose.

### 3.6.4.3 Compound Tense

There is one compound tense which seems capable of being used both relatively and absolutely. This tense, which may be called past progressive, is a complex of a form of the verb 'Be' and the durative form of any other verb. Each of the two verbs bears its own subject marker.<sup>41</sup> It may, therefore, be said that the verb 'Be' acts as the main verb while the accompanying verb acts as a complement to it. Thus:

	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Be</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Aspect</u>	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Suffix</u>
e.g.	a-	ali	a-	o-	lil-	a
	She	be(past)	she	Progressive	cry	suffix
	(She	was crying)				

It seems to me that the real problem in trying to determine why this combination can be used both relatively and absolutely lies in the nature and behaviour of the verb 'to be' in Ki-Luguru.

It may well be that the absolute use of the past progressive is a derived use much like the independent use of the subjunctive in exhortatives and mild commands. The past progressive indicates a time span within which another event can be seen as taking place. The point of reference in that time span is usually implied or expressed by an adverbial clause. We shall be referring to the compound tense as the Imperfective tense.<sup>42</sup>

### 3.6.5 Structure of Negation

For the Infinitive, Imperative and the Subjunctive, Ki-Luguru uses the full verb 'leka' (= refrain) to express negation:

- e.g. Imperative:      leka (u) kulika    (= don't cry)  
                              refrain from crying
- Infinitive:      ukuleka ukulila  
                              to refrain to cry (= not to cry)
- Subjunctive:      a-lek-e ukulila  
                              he-refrain from crying (= let him  
    refrain...)

The verb 'leka' is always followed by the infinitive when used in this sense. In all other cases, negation is expressed by attaching the negative prefix ɲ(a) - to the relative tenses:

- (a) Durative:            ɲ-a-o-lil-a  
                              not he crying suffix
- (b) Non-durative:      ɲ-a-lil-a-ga  
                              not he cry suffix repeatedly
- (c) Perfective:          ɲ-a-lil-ile  
                              not he cry completive
- (d) Imperfective:      ɲ-a-ɲali    a-o-lil-a  
                              not he was he durative crying suffix

The negative forms as given above can only be used in dependent clauses just like their (relative tense) positive counterparts.

To form absolute negative tenses or in order to be used absolutely these negative forms must be reinforced by a special negative particle 'baye' or 'mbe' which is usually placed at the end of a sentence or clause.<sup>43</sup> (See Part III.)

- e.g. Imwana ɲa-o-lil-a    (NON-ASSERTIVE)  
          Child   not he crying suffix



Imwana <sup>ja</sup>-o-lil-a                      BAYE                      (ASSERTIVE)  
Child not-he-crying suffix NOT

3.6.6 Structure of the Conditional Verbal

A conditional verbal is marked by the presence of *ja-* between the subject and the object (or verbal stem) in the relative tenses. Only two of the relative tenses admit this conditional morpheme: non-durative and perfective.

(a) Non-durative:

	<u>Subject</u>		<u>Marker of</u>		<u>(Object)</u>		<u>Stem</u>		<u>Suffix</u>
	<u>Marker</u>		<u>Conditional</u>		<u>(Marker)</u>				
e.g.	a	-	-ja		-mu-		-lag		-a
	he		if		him		hit		suffix

(b) Perfective:

	<u>Subject</u>		<u>Marker of</u>		<u>(Object)</u>		<u>Stem</u>		<u>Suffix</u>
	<u>Marker</u>		<u>Conditional</u>		<u>(Marker)</u>				
e.g.	a		-ja		-mu-		-lag		-ile
	he		if		him		hit		Perfective
									-Suffix

The non-durative conditional refers to a real condition. The perfective conditional refers to a hypothetical or unfulfilled condition.<sup>44</sup>

3.6.7 Modal Particles

The term modal here is used to refer to those verb-like operators, lacking a full verbal paradigm, which are used to give additional characterisation to the tense/aspect marking of the verb. I believe it is necessary to distinguish two types of such particles in Ki-Iuguru.

(a) Intra-verbal operators: those found or placed within the verbal i.e. between subject marker and stem.

(b) Extra-verbal: those placed outside the verbal structure as such. These may be independent particles

or clitics.

The most common intra-verbal operators are *za* and *ya/ka*. *ya* occurs in the Indicative, *ka* occurs only in the Subjunctive.

The morphemes *za* and *ya* are used intraverbally in the non-past tense (both absolute and relative) to indicate perceptual 'motion' in the phases of an event viewed as a culmination of a present cause.<sup>45</sup> The fundamental thing is that they both represent 'motion'. Motion is dynamic. The point of reference for the motion is the speaker. If 'X' represents the speaker-reference point, 'Z' and 'Y' represent direction, then we can draw the following diagram to show the interrelationship:

$X \leftarrow Z$  = motion towards the speaker, *za*

$X \rightarrow Y$  = motion away from the speaker, *ya*

The two morphemes are remnants of early Bantu forms for the verbs 'come' and 'go'.<sup>46</sup> These two verbs, as is well known, represent what is known as 'change of locus' or transfer. Motion towards the speaker is often more abstract, referring more to change of condition rather than to change of physical locus. Motion away from the speaker almost invariably involves a physical gap that must be bridged. The physical gap could exist between several points. The fundamental requirement is that it be away from the speaker.

Motion towards the speaker has an element of both 'predictability' and 'anticipated possibility'. It could mean either:

	"it will come to pass"		Prediction			
or	"it may come to pass"		Possibility			
e.g.	<u>Subject</u> <u>Marker</u>	+ <u>Modal</u> <u>Marker</u>	+ <u>Tense/</u> <u>Aspect</u>	+ <u>Object</u> <u>Marker</u>	+ <u>Stem</u>	+ <u>Suffix</u>
	ka he	-za come	-o- non-past	-mu him	-lag hit	-a suffix

He will/might hit him later

Precise adverbials of time are incompatible with this kind of characterization since prediction and anticipated possibility are inherently uncertain modes of reference. Vague references to indefinite time are however possible:

Iluvi ka-za - o -mu - av - a  
'Tomorrow'he will come him aid suffix  
= One day he will aid him

Motion away from the speaker can always be translated by the English verb 'go' except when this verb is used in such a way in English as not to imply any motion whatsoever:

- |      |  |                                 |                                  |                                  |               |                 |
|------|--|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| e.g. | <u>Subject</u><br><u>Marker</u>          | + <u>Modal</u><br><u>Marker</u> | + <u>Tense/</u><br><u>Aspect</u> | + <u>Object</u><br><u>Marker</u> | + <u>Stem</u> | + <u>Suffix</u> |
| (1)  | ka<br>he                                 | -ya<br>move                     | -o<br>non-past                   | -mu<br>him                       | -lag<br>hit   | -a<br>suffix    |
|      | = He is going to hit him                 |                                 |                                  |                                  |               |                 |
| (2)  | i<br>it                                  | -ya<br>'someone move'           | -o<br>non-past                   |                                  | -tow<br>rain  | -a              |
|      | = It is going to rain (where X is going) |                                 |                                  |                                  |               |                 |

Extra-verbal operators may be either clitics, attached to the end or beginning of the verbal, or independent particles. Two such operators most closely associated with Tense/Aspect are -ga marking 'habituality', 'repetitiveness' or 'persistiveness', and 'zaa' indicating 'recollected' reference.

The clitic -ga can be attached to any verbal form except the perfective relative tense ending in -ile. Whether the meaning is habituality, repeatedness or persistiveness depends entirely on context and the semantic meaning of the verb in question.

e.g.                    Subject + T/A + Stem + Suffix - ga LOC  
 Habitual:            ka            - ~~Q~~            -kal            -a            -ga GOLE  
                          he            past            live            suffix            habitual  
                          = He lives in Gole

Repetitive:    Gamazi            u-gum-e-ge mu-ciya  
                          Water you-pur-suffix-repeat into pot  
                          = Please pour the water into the pot - each  
                          time you bring it.

Persistentive:    U            -gend-e-ge, n-o-ku-vik-a  
                          you go-suffix-on, I will catch up with you

Notice that -ga attached to the subjunctive in -e also undergoes a corresponding vowel change from a to e. It would seem from this that -ga is a partially conjugable verb particle.<sup>42</sup>

e.g. <u>Imperative</u>	<u>Subjunctive</u>
Gum-a-ga	U-gum-e-ge
Pour (habitually)	Please, pour (habitually)

It is difficult to define precisely the real meaning of this verb-particle, but the concept of 'repeat' is certainly basic to it.

The independent particle 'zaa', indicating 'recollected' time, is most probably related to the intra-verbal operator -za- but the divergence in use makes the relationship particularly difficult to account for satisfactorily. Like -ga, 'zaa' can be used with any verbal form. It always precedes the verbal. Its independence is attested by the fact that some other particles can come between 'zaa' and the verbal.

e.g. zaa ka-lil-a  
Earlier he cried

zaa kaa ka-lil-a  
Earlier if he cried  
Had he cried

The significance of 'zaa' depends entirely on the tense/aspect of the verbal it precedes. We can distinguish three different effects of it on verbals:

(a) With the subjunctive it refers to 'anticipated' future. In this case it resembles intra-verbal -za-.

e.g. Zaa a -lim -e  
Later he dig suffix,  
Let him dig later

Compare with:

ka-za-o-lima = He will/might dig later

(b) With past tenses (both relative and absolute)

i.e. past, perfective and imperfective, it means 'earlier':

e.g. Zaa ku-long - a  
Earlier you said suffix  
You said earlier

Notice that it is still possible to relate this use of 'zaa' to that of intra-verbal -za- by the concept of 'motion' or change of locus provided the 'motion' is viewed as coming from different directions.

e.g. Ka-za-o-lima  
It will come to pass that he will dig

Zaa kalima  
It came to pass that he dug

The 'recollected past' and the 'anticipated' future are all centred on the present point of reference. They cannot therefore be identified with the English past perfect or future perfect whose points of reference are not primarily NOW. They cannot be compared with the English simple past and simple future either because

these admit precise adverbials of time, whereas 'recollected past' and 'anticipated' future do not.

(c) With non-past tenses (relative and absolute)

'zaa' creates a hypothetical situation, meaning 'was to':

e.g. Zaa ka-a-kuk-a leloli  
'Was to' he non-past go suffix today

He was to go today

Zaa ka-za-a-kuk-a  
'was to' he come-to-pass go suffix

It would come to pass that he would go.

#### CHAPTER FOUR: SYNTACTIC PATTERNS

Due to the vastness of the area of language covered by the term 'syntax' it is impossible for me to give a fair summary of the major syntactic features of Ki-Luguru. Instead, I will attempt to outline the characteristics of a selected number of syntactic features that I believe to be particularly relevant to the main theme of my research, namely sentences with permuted subject and object. There are three topics that I consider to be of particular usefulness in discussing the nature of the construction in question. These are: Specifier system, Concord and Basic sentence patterns.

##### 4.1 Specifier-System

In an earlier section it was stated that the structure of a noun in Ki-Luguru consists of three segments: Specifier, Prefix and Stem. It was also stated that the presence of the specifier is determined by syntactic environments. It is now time to state what these syntactic environments are. However, before doing so, I shall give the various phonological shapes of the specifier and make one pertinent comment:

(a) i- occurs before nouns of classes 1/2, 4, 7/8, 9, 13, 16

(b) u- occurs before nouns of classes 11, 14, 15, 17

(c) (g)u- occurs before nouns of Class 3

(d) li- occurs before nouns of Class 5

(e) (g)a- occurs before nouns of Class 6

(f) zi- " " " " " 10

One curious thing that occurs in Ki-Luguru is that

certain kinship terms never occur with a specifier.

These are:

sekulu	mutumba	mai	mulamu
grandfather	uncle	mother	brother-in-law
		(general)	

It is not clear why this should be the case. Other kinship terms do not show such a restriction:

e.g.	i- <del>o</del> -ba	i- <del>o</del> -pe	i- <del>o</del> -lumbu
	father	mother	brother/sister
		(unique)	

Possibly some abstract phonological reason or some special historical development is responsible for the non-occurrence of the specifier with certain kinship terms. It is clear, however, that our contention that the presence or absence of the specifier is determined by syntactic environments is not wholly accurate.

There are a number of gaps within the system that are beyond the reach of synchronic syntax.

From the semantic point of view it can be generalized that the presence/absence of the specifier is closely connected with degrees of determination, which is in turn determined by the vague concept of presupposition. It is not my intention to probe deeper into the kind of presuppositions involved at each place. I will limit myself to stating environments in which the specifier never/can/must occur.

#### 4.1.1 Environments in which the Specifier Never Occurs.

(a) Before nouns preceded by locative marker. In other words, when a noun is locativised it must drop



the specifier, if it had one, because specifier and locative cannot co-occur.

e.g. i-ci-ya the pot

\*mu-i-ci-ya

But mu-ci-ya in the pot

This is generally the case except when the stem never takes any other prefix but locative. Thus it is not possible to say:

Spec.	Loc.	Pref.	Stem
-------	------	-------	------

* i-	ha-	ci-	ya
------	-----	-----	----

But it is possible to say:

i	-ha	- nu	(= place)
---	-----	------	-----------

because the stem -nu can only take a locative prefix.

(b) Before certain re-categorized nouns when the re-categorization is morphologically marked but the original prefix is retained:

e.g. i-ci-dege bird

\*i-wa-vi-dege birds

In this case it may be said that wa- acts like a specifier and this is suggested to be the case by the following examples in which wa- fails to occur in exactly the same environments as those in which the specifier would not occur:

	<u>Recategorized</u>	<u>Non-recategorized</u>
After Demonstrative:	*Awa <u>wa</u> -vi-dege	*Aga <u>ga</u> -ma-bwe
Rather:	Awa vi-dege These are birds	Aga ma-bwe These are stones

Syntactic evidence therefore forces us to conclude

that wa- in 'wa-vi-dege' is not a nominal prefix but a specifier. This conclusion, however, though well-motivated, poses enormous difficulties for analysing the role and status of class markers in the recategorization of nouns.

(c) Before nouns preceded by the invariable element 'cila' (each, every):

e.g.    \*cila    i-ci-dege            Rather: cila ci-dege  
         Each        bird

(d) Before nouns to which the interrogative enclitic  
-ci (which) is attached:

e.g. \*i-ci-dege-ci

But ci-dege-ci  
(bird which) = which bird?

4.1.2 Environments in which the Specifier may occur  
But usually does not.<sup>48</sup>

This is a much more difficult area since the presence/absence of the specifier has deep semantic implications. The following are environments which normally prefer the non-occurrence of the specifier. . . . , If it occurred, it would register a significant shift in meaning - from generic to specific.

(a) Before predicative nominals (i.e. after 'copula')

e.g. Yumbwa           munyama       vs.Yumbwa i-munyama  
A dog is an animal         = It is the dog which is an  
  animal

Ayu mbwa                      vs.      Ayu i-mbwa  
This is a dog                      This is the dog

(b) Before nominals that are object or complement to a negated verb - meaning 'any':

e.g. Imwana                      Natulile ciya baye  
The child didn't break any pot

(c) Before nominals that are object or complement to a predicator of an alternative question - meaning 'any':

e.g. Imwana ka-towa munu?  
The child hit man  
Did the child hit any man? (anybody)

(d) Before nominals numerically quantified:

e.g. Katuma wanu weli  
He sent two men

Munu yumwe-ŋga	kagua
Person one	fell
One person fell	

(e) Before objects of result e.g. Kazenga ganda = he built a house.

One characteristic of all these nominals is that they cannot be left/right dislocated. Their structural position is fixed. Nor can they have an object concord when they serve as objects or complement to a goal-directed verb:

e.g. Left Dislocation \* Wanu weli, Katuma  
Persons two, he sent

Object Concord      \* Ka-wa-tuma, wanu weli  
                             He then sent two men

It is not possible to specify all the possible environments in which the specifier may/may-not occur. The above-mentioned environments are the most outstanding ones for non-occurrence of the specifier. The difficulty involved here is almost of the same type as the difficulty facing anybody who attempts to lay down rules governing the use of the article in English.

An adequate account of the use of the article must take into consideration presuppositional variations.

#### 4.1.3 Environments in which the Specifier is normally required or presupposed:

(a) Nominals in subject position in an independent clause, unless it is numerically quantified:

e.g. \*Mwana kagua  
 Child fell  
  
 I-mu-ana kagua  
 The child fell  
  
 \*wa-ana wagua  
  
 Wa-ana wadatu wagua  
 Children three fell  
 Three children fell

It is possible however to re-adjust the non-specific subject nominal by using the indefinite locative construction ku/ha-na. Thus:

Ku/ha-na mwana kagua  
 There is a child (he) fell  
 = A child has fallen

(b) Thematised nominals normally must have a Specifier unless, again, they are numerically quantified:

e.g. \*ci-tabu, ku-mu-ija imwana  
  
 I-ci-tabu, ku-mu-ija imwana  
 The book, you (100) gave the child  
  
 Vi-tabu- vili, ku-wa-ija iwana  
 Two books, you (100) gave to the children

#### 4.2 Concord

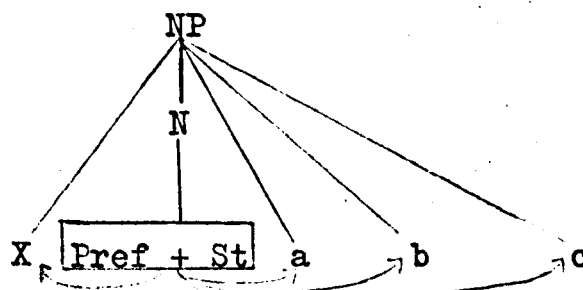
Concord refers to the system of sentence trappings which mark a constituent to be in agreement with another constituent with regard to such categories as gender, number and person. Basically there are two systems

of agreement in Ki-Luguru:

1. NP Concord: Agreement operating within a noun phrase so as to relate modifiers to the head noun.
2. V Concord: Agreement operating within a sentence or clause so as to relate verbs to the NPs in construction with them.

Agreement is ultimately derived from the noun since only nouns are inherently determined for gender and perhaps also for number. (Though strictly speaking number is a feature of the noun phrase and not of the noun as such). It is therefore plausible to talk of agreement as a process by which features of the noun are spread onto its modifiers and features of the noun phrase are subsequently spread onto the verb or predicator. The precise mechanism by which these operations are accomplished is difficult to formulate within any given grammatical theory so far. However, two attempts have been made to formulate Bantu-concord-placement system within the TG model (cf. Givon (1970) Heny (1972)). Both of them find it particularly hard to accommodate re-categorized nouns in their system. It is not my intention to take issue with any of them here. The inadequacy of either proposal has been pointed out by several people in the field of Bantu studies. My intention is simply to state informally what one observes in Ki-Luguru.

Concord within a noun phrase can be represented diagrammatically in the following way:



e.g. I -mu -ana -wa-ko yu-la i-mu-bala  
(That big child of yours)

X stands for specifier; a b and c represent various modifiers such as adjectives, demonstratives etc.

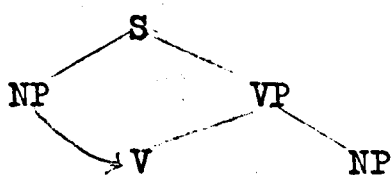
What the diagram claims is simply that the character of the noun-complex (i.e. stem + prefix(es)) is spread to the various optional satellites within the NP, including the specifier. It would not be accurate to talk of copying the prefix from the noun onto the satellites, because in a number of cases the prefixes are not identical in form (see Table in 3.3). The only case where one could accurately talk of copying is when the modifier is an adjective. Adjective-modifiers take exactly the same prefix as their head noun.

It is at present safer, though by no means satisfactory, to talk of character spreading and character marking. This marking is context-sensitive. The character of the head noun is realised differently by the different types of modifiers - 'Quidquid recipitur ad modum recipientis recipitur!' It should be remembered that we are only dealing with surface structure here. It is quite plausible, as Givon (1970) suggests, that

these modifiers are also differently related to the head noun in deep structure. A thorough study of the behaviour of each type of modifier is necessary before any reliable generalisation can be made regarding the origin of modifiers.

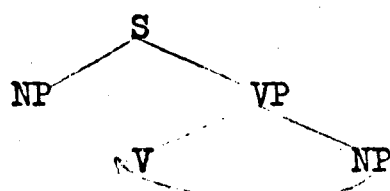
V-Concord is divided into two parts: Subject Concord and Object Concord.

#### Subject Concord



e.g. I-mu-ana ka-olila

#### Object Concord



e.g. Ka-mu-towa imwana

Subject concord consists in marking the gender, number and person of the surface structure subject NP of a sentence on the predicator of the sentence.

Gender, number and person of the subject NP are largely determined by the class of the head noun of the subject NP, if the NP is simplex.

e.g. Imwana Past lila  
(NP V)

Imwana ka- $\phi$ -lila  
(NP SC-T -V)  
subject marking

#### Conjoined Subject NP:

When the NP is immediately dominated by a conjoined NP which comprises several NP's or nouns, agreement marking is resolved in one of the following ways:

(a) If the conjunct consists of nouns of the same gender, then the only operation required is number adjustment:

e.g. Iciya, icilolelo, na icupa vi-tulika  
pot, mirror, and glass broke

Each of the conjoined nouns belongs to gender 7/8, but Class 7. The totality resulting from the conjoining also belongs to gender 7/8, but Class 8.

Diagrams A1 and A2 show number adjustment with nouns of the same class and gender:

Diagram A1

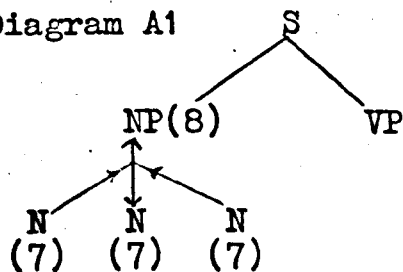
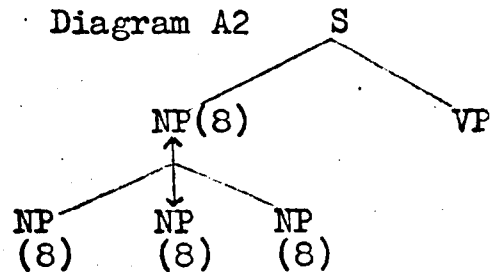
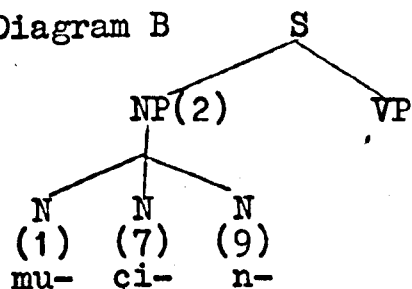


Diagram A2



(b) When the conjunct consists of animate nouns only, the totality takes class (2) character of gender 1/2 as shown in Diagram B.

Diagram B



e.g. I-muhawi, icidege na yumbwa wakala hemwe  
A witch, a bird and a dog are sitting together

(c) When the multiple consists of nouns belonging to various genders but are all non-animate and concrete the totality may take the class 8 character:

e.g. I-sindano, liigaja, na uwuzi vi-a mukapo  
(9) + (5) + (14) (8)  
The needle, the bead and the string are in the basket

This type of compromise resolution is restricted to mainly small objects. When big objects belonging to different genders are involved phrasal conjunction is avoided and instead sentential conjunction is employed.<sup>49</sup>



Object concord involves the marking of the characters of the object or complement noun phrase on the verb. Whereas the subject concord is always obligatory (except in certain object relative clauses (see Part II) the object concord is not.

(a) The object concord is optional when the direct object refers to an animate object in an ordinary sentence.

e.g. ka-o-lag-a imwana  
he non-past hit suffix the child

ka-o-mu-lag-a imwana  
he non-past (LOC.) hit suffix the child

The difference between the two is that the first is a neutral statement of facts, the second highlights the predicator. That is to say, in the first sentence the focus embraces the whole predicate phrase, while in the second the focus is narrowed to the predicator. This is only a rough generalisation.

(b) The object concord is obligatory with indirect objects (which are here assumed to refer to animates only).

e.g. ka-a-ku-ija imwana icitabu  
he non-past give the child a book

but ka-o-mu-ija imwana icitabu  
he non-past (LOC.) give the child a book

(c) The object concord is obligatory with topicalised animate object NP's, but optional with inanimate ones.

e.g. \*Imwana, ka-o-lag-a  
The child he is hitting

Rather: Imwana, ka-o-mu-lag-a (the child, he is hitting him)  
 Katula iciya (He broke the pot)  
 Iciya, katula (the pot he broke (it))  
 Iciya, ka-ci-tula (the pot he broke it)

#### 4.2.1 Notes:

(1) The object concord can only be used when the NP it refers to is specific. With the exception of a few kinship terms the normal marker of specificity is the specifier. Hence any noun which is without a specifier by virtue of the environment in which it occurs cannot trigger an object concord.

e.g. \*Ka-o-mu-lag-a mu-ana?

ka-o-lag-a mu-ana?  
 he non-past hit (any) child?  
 Is he hitting any child?

(2) Although it is possible to have two objects (indirect and direct), it is not possible to have two object concords within the same verbal. The indirect object concord always prevails.

e.g. Ka-o-mu-iḡa imwana icitabu  
 He is giving the child a book

#### Preposed Object:

\*Icitabu ka-o-ci-mu-iḡa imwana

Icitabu ka-o-mu-iḡa imwana  
 The book he-him-give the child  
 As for the book, he is giving (it) to the child

(3) The problem of gender or class resolution rarely occurs in the case of object concord. When the object is a conjoined NP, the concord agrees in number and gender with the noun nearest to the verb:

- e.g. Idawa ni-mu-iŋa mwalimu na iwana  
 The medicine I (<sup>1</sup>OC<sub>i</sub>) gave the teacher and the  
 children  
 As for the medicine I gave (it) to the teacher  
 and the children

However, when the conjoined object NP is preposed,  
 gender resolution rules must operate in the same way  
 as for conjoined subject -- NP's as indicated above.

- e.g. Mwalimu na iwana ni-wa-iŋa idawa

#### 4.3 Clause Patterns and Verb-Types

A well-formed clause must consist of a subject  
 and a predicate. The exponent of a subject must always  
 be a nominal. The exponent of a predicate must include  
 a verbal. A clause may consist however, of more than  
 subject and predicate-verbal. The additional elements  
 may be optional or obligatory. They are optional if  
 the clause can be well-formed without them.

- e.g. Imwana ka-o-gula  
 The child suffers

Imwana ka-o-gula cifua  
 The child suffers a cold

The first sentence is well-formed and so is the  
 second. The underlined word in the second sentence  
 is an optional phraseological unit added to the first  
 sentence to provide a new information focus to it;  
 but the first sentence could be a self-contained clause  
 with the information focus on the predicator.

Additional elements are obligatory if the predicator  
 cannot, by itself, constitute an information focus:  
 in Halliday's (1967-68) terminology, if the predicator

is 'goal-orientated'. What determines the presence of such additional elements therefore is the type of verb selected for a particular clause. That is, given the use of a particular verb in a particular sense, the clause is incomplete if no additional element is present besides SV.

Thus: \*Imwana-ka-tula  
The child broke

is not well-formed because the verb 'tula' is goal-orientated and therefore cannot constitute an information focus without the support of its goal. Hence the need for an additional unit, such as 'iciya':

Imwana ka-tula iciya  
The child broke the pot

Concentrating on those elements that are thus obligatory, we can usefully distinguish seven major types of sentence or clause patterns. It is possible to detect a number of sub-patterns within each of the major patterns. It must also be emphasised that these patterns are based on non-derived verbs. The patterning of derived verbs is slightly more complicated. Since our later discussion will not be affected by the patterning habits of derived verbs we will not deal with them at all here. What we shall do is to present the major patterns in outline form first and then comment on them one by one.

- (1) S - V : predicator focus
- (2) S - VC : predicator-complement focus
- (3) S - VL : predicator-locative focus

- (4) S - VO : predicator-object focus
- (5) S - VOL: predicator-object-locative focus
- (6) S - VOO: predicator-object-object focus
- (7) S - VSe: predicator-sentence focus

A number of verbs can participate in more than one of these patterns. It is doubtful whether in such cases the meaning of the verb remains constant.

e.g. Ka-o-bama kulila            S-VSe  
       He wants to cry

K<sup>h</sup>-o-bama icitabu            S-VO  
       He is looking for a book

The lexeme 'bama' is by no means constant in meaning in the two sentences, even though ultimately they have some semantic streak in common. Generally we shall assume that a shift in pattern entails also a shift in meaning.

Ad(1) Goalless predicators are numerous and varied.

Semantically they range from those that are maximally attributive or inactive to those that are maximally active.

Maximally inactive: -iha, -noga, -gula, etc.  
                                   (be)bad, (be)good, (be)sick,

Maximally active:        -vina,    -zuma,    -lila etc.  
                                   dance,    run,        cry

One could attempt to sub-classify them according to the semantic relationship that holds between them and the subject. But this, in my view, is a purely semantic exercise with little effect on the syntactic patterns of the verb as such. The only important thing to note from the syntactic point of view is that the syntactic

strategy of the clause finds sufficient culmination in the predicator, whereas this is not the case with the other patterns.

Ad(2) This pattern is restricted to verbs of identity and resemblance. Basically these are equational sentences. The focus of syntactic organisation is not the predicator but the second part of the equation:

e.g. Icidege munyama  
The bird is an animal

The equative verb that is most frequent in constructions of this kind is the 'copula' in its various phonological manifestations.

Ad(3) This pattern embraces a number of verbs which have a locative (or motion) connotation. A change of location always involves a point of origin, a terminus and possibly a path. Any of these can constitute, together with the verb, the focus of the clause. One of the distinctive characteristics of this pattern is that the additional element is usually overtly marked by a locative prefix, except when the source, path, goal or location in question is either animate or a proper name:

e.g. Uluvulu <sup>lu</sup>lu<sup>3</sup>ila munenge  
A mote entered the eye

Uluvulu lu-mu-i<sup>3</sup>ila imwana  
A mote entered the child

Imwana ka-genda ku<sup>3</sup>lukolongo  
The child went to the river

Imwana ka-genda Mlali  
The child went to Mlali (name of place)

Thus, if the additional noun phrase is animate, locativeness is marked by object concord. If the NP is a place name there is no overt marker of locativeness. It should be remembered that all verbs belonging to this pattern are inherently marked with the feature locative. They are further marked for a particular type of locative orientation.

e.g. Source orientated: lawa, puluta etc.  
leave, emerge

Goal orientated: iggila, genda, iza zinga  
enter, go, come, disappear

Path orientated: yaga, gua  
pass-by, fall

Stationary kala, ima, mema  
sit(on) stand(on) fill up

Locative 'be' belongs to this last group too.

One further characteristic of the locative type of verb is that the locative noun is made surface subject of the clause if the 'deep' subject is indefinite. This transformation is obligatory.

e.g. \*Wanu wa-mema muḡanda  
People are full up in the house

Muḡanda mu-mema wanu  
In-the-house is full of people

\*Luvulu luḡgila munenge  
A mote entered the eye

Munenge muḡgila luvulu  
In-the-eye entered a-mote

In some cases it is possible to make another transformation that will delete the locative marker. The sense of locativeness is then left to be inferred from the verb alone. Thus the last two sentences can further be transformed into:

Iyanda i-mema wanu  
The house is full of people

Inenge i-ogila luvulu  
(The eye-entered-a-mote)

This kind of transformation is closely related to the kind of construction to be studied in Part Two. The main difference is that in the case of these sentences one of the nominals must necessarily be indefinite. In the construction to be discussed later, however, the two nominals must both be definite.

Ad (4) The fourth type of clause pattern is the most common and also the most varied in its sub-patterns in so far as there are various types of verb-object relationships. Many of these subpatterns can best be handled in terms of semantic categories such as effected, affected, recipient etc., but there are a few of them which have some clear grammatical characteristics that mark them as special.

I will deal with two such subpatterns:

(a) Passivisable Objects:

There are a number of objects which can undergo passive transformation, which in Ki-Luguru involves subjectivising the object nominal and modification of verbal form. The 'deep' subject may optionally be expressed as a prepositional phrase:

e.g. Juma ka-mu-kwela Mwenda  
Juma married Mwenda

Mwenda ka-kwel-igwa na Juma  
Mwenda was married 'by' Juma  
(to)



It is not clear what conditions must be met by a S-V0 pattern in order to qualify for this kind of transformation. I believe each verb ought to be marked ± passive in the lexicon, besides being marked as goal-orientated. Animate 'agent' is always presupposed here.

Verbal modification related to passivisation consists in affixing a 'passive' extension -igw- to the stem of the verb. This process is an essential part of passivisation.

(b) Quasi-passivisable Object

A number of objects can undergo a similar type of transformation as the passive transformation, but with a different form of verbal modification viz. -ik- / -ek-.

e.g. Imwana ka-bena ikalamu  
The child broke the pencil

Ikalamu i-ben-eka  
The pencil is broken

The main difference between the two constructions is that the former (a) implies an external animate agent, while the latter (b) does not. Moreover, whereas it is usual to express the agent in the former by a prep-phrase, <sup>in the latter</sup> it is unusual to make explicit reference to the agent or cause. The difference between the two constructions is akin to the difference between the 'be' and 'get' passives in English.

There is no simple way in which one can tell a priori whether a particular clause can undergo the quasi-passive transformation. Some verbs can undergo both types of transformation, others admit only one of

them. Many more still, of the goal-orientated verbs, admit neither. Examples:

Admitting Passive only: kuela, guda, genda, gala  
marry, pluck, fetch, carry

Admitting both: tula, bena, beta, tema  
split break fold cut

Admitting -ik- only: manya, ona  
know see

Admitting neither: lola, seka  
look at, laugh at

It will be appreciated that individuals differ in the way they would handle these verbs in an actual situation. It should also be pointed out that the passive construction is not common in speech, the quasi-passive construction is more frequent.

Sentences with permuted subject and object are related to this pattern of verbs in so far as, like the passive and quasi-passive transformation, they subjectivise the object NP. They differ in a number of ways as we shall see later.

Ad (5) This pattern combines the transitivity features of Pattern (3) with those of Pattern (4).

Whereas verbs of Pattern (3) are basically locative verbs, those of Pattern (5) are basically 'transfer' verbs. The focus of the clause combines both the destination of the transfer and the object to be transferred. The lexical structure of Ki-Luguru has a couple of simple verbs that are capable of sustaining such a focus-set. Among such verbs are: guma, gela,  
pour throw

ita ika  
spill place

The locative in this focus-set is always overtly marked and comes after the object noun in the basic order of elements.

e.g. Imwana ka-o-guma gamazi muciya  
The child is pouring water into the pot

\*Imwana ka-o-guma muciya gamazi

The features of Pattern (3) and (4) that are combined to form Pattern (5) are very thin indeed. For none of the transformational possibilities or paraphraseability available to Patterns (3) and (4) are acceptable in Pattern (5). Locative subjectivisation is impossible under any circumstances, and subjectivisation of Object through passivisation or quasi-passivisation is likewise impossible.

Ad(6): Pattern (6) is basically similar to Pattern (5).

Like Pattern (5) it is a combination of features of Pattern (3) and (4). What makes this pattern different from (5) is that the destination of 'transfer' is invariably animate. This has two grammatical consequences:

- (a) The obligatory presence of object concord in the verb - a concord copied from the 'destination' noun..
- (b) Change in word order. The destination noun (i.e. indirect object) precedes the object of transfer or comes immediately after the verb.

e.g. Mwalimu ka-o-mu-<sup>50</sup>ipa imwana icitabu  
The teacher gives the child a book

\*Mwalimu ka-o-mu-ija icitabu imwana  
\*Mwalimu ka-a-ku-ija imwana icitabu

Verbs belonging to this pattern include some of those of Pattern (5). Examples of those exclusively connected with this pattern are: iya, boka etc.  
give, snatch from

Like Pattern (5) this pattern does not admit any of the transformational possibilities open to Pattern (3) or (4).

Ad(7): The S-VSe pattern is unique in so far as it contains within its focus-set an embedded sentence. The embedded sentence takes infinitive form if its subject is identical with that of the main clause. It takes a subjunctive form if the two subjects are non-identical.

e.g. Ka-o-bama ku-lila  
He wants to cry  
  
ka-o-ku-bama u-lile  
he-(you)-wants you-cry  
He wants you to cry

The object concord -ku- is optional here. Its presence marks a relatively stronger emphasis on the subject of the embedded sentence. The following sentence is thus less marked:

ka-o-bama u-lile

Verbs belonging to this kind of focus-set are very few.

It should be pointed out, however, that the mere presence of an infinitive within a focus set should not be construed as an indication of Pattern (7).

The infinitive is also used in other patterns where

it functions not as an embedded clause but as a simple nominal:

e.g. ka-lema u-ku-ja  
he declined to eat

ka-lema imwana  
he disclaimed the child

It would seem that transposition is a suitable test for distinguishing the verbal use of the infinitive and the nominal use of it. In the nominal use the infinitive can be moved from post-verbal position to pre-verbal position. This is not possible in the verbal use of it. Thus:

U-ku-ja ka-lema  
To eat he declined

But not:

\*ku-lila ka-bama

PART TWO - SENTENCES WITH PERMUTED SUBJECT AND OBJECT

CHAPTER FIVE: PREAMBLE

In his article called 'Bantu Grammatical Reconstruction', A.E. Meeussen (1967) observes that in Bantu Clause Structure the relationship between SUBJECT and OBJECT is 'looser than one would expect'. To illustrate how loose this relationship can be, Meeussen gives two sentences, (1) and (2) below, in which the NP's representing SUBJECT and OBJECT in deep structure permute freely in surface structure without effecting a corresponding change of meaning normally associated with this type of permutation in non-passive sentences.

- (1) Nkima jí - íji bú-enge búá-miti  
 Monkey SC-know cleverness of - trees  
 =The monkey knows (the cleverness of) trees
- (2) Bu-é-enge búá-miti bú-iji nkima  
 Cleverness of-trees SC - know monkey  
 =The monkey knows (the cleverness of) trees

As the English translation suggests the two sentences are apparently identical in meaning. To appreciate the nature of the problem involved here it might be useful to express the apparent surface structure relations in tree-format, as in Figures 1 and 2 below:

Fig.1:

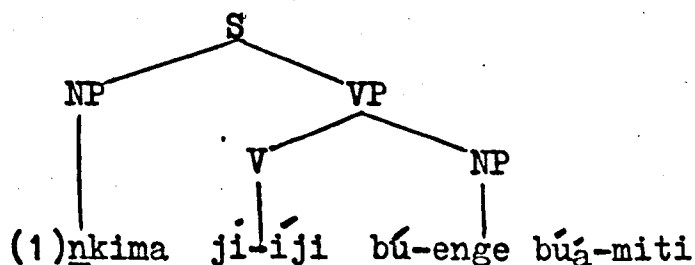
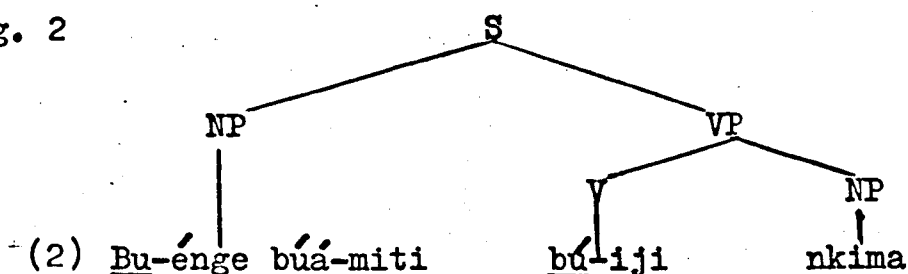


Fig. 2



In terms of grammatical relations, it may be said that in Figure 1 nkima is the SUBJECT of the sentence; ji-iji is the main verb, agreeing in number and gender with nkima: bu-éngé búá-miti is the OBJECT of the main verb.

In Figure 2 bu-éngé búá-miti must be construed to be the SUBJECT of the sentence because it spreads its features of gender and number onto the main verb bú-iji. bu-iji is the main verb agreeing in number and gender with bu-éngé; nkima is problematic. However, in the absence of any passive marker on the verb, and given that -iji is a goal-directed verb, it is to be assumed that the NP occurring immediately to the right of such a verb in a sentence is the OBJECT of the verb until contrarily proved. Nkima therefore, may provisionally be assumed to be the OBJECT of bú-iji until it has been established that this is definitely not the case.

Meeussen described this type of SUBJECT/OBJECT permutation as 'surprising' in view of the identity of meaning that exists between (1) and (2). In normal situations one would have expected the permutation to result in a totally different meaning as is the case with the following English sentences:

The cat caught the mouse

The mouse caught the cat

The construction reported by Meeussen is by no means confined to the languages<sup>1</sup> studied by him.

W.H. Whiteley (1972) came across a similar phenomenon in his study of Swahili verb-patterns. Whiteley reports that there exist in Swahili a class of verbs whose patterning includes sentences in which the relationship between the grammatical Subject and the Verb is 'counter-experiential'. As an illustration he gives the following sentence:

- (3) Shamba lile li-me-lima watu ishirini.  
 Farm that SC-Aspect- cultivate men twenty  
 = That farm has taken twenty men to cultivate it

Whiteley's translation of sentence (3) is fairly liberal. It captures the sense of the sentence but does not help us to understand its grammatical set-up. A literal translation of the same sentence would be:

'That farm cultivated twenty men'.

From the logical point of view this literal translation cannot be entertained because, as Whiteley correctly observes, it is counter experiential. However, Whiteley also intuited that there was some special situational constraint at work in the use of sentence (3). His English translation reveals most clearly his deep grasp of the meaning of the sentence. Besides, he explicitly states (between parentheses) how such a sentence should be interpreted, i.e. in 'reference to preceding comment on its size' (p.10).



In my study of Ki-Luguru I have come across sentences similar to those reported by Meeussen and Whiteley.

The b sentences below, which are synonymous with the a sentences<sup>2</sup>, are similar in structure to sentences (2) and (3) above.

- (4a) Imwana ka-tula iciya  
Child SC-broke pot  
The child broke the pot
- (4b) Iciya ci-tula imwana  
Pot SC-broke child
- (5a) Imwana ka-gula iḡguo  
Child SC-bought dress  
The child bought the dress
- (5b) Iḡguo i-gula imwana  
Dress |bought child |sc-
- (6a) Mwalimu ka-andika ibalua  
Teacher SC-wrote letter  
The teacher wrote the letter
- (6b) Ibalua i-andika mwalimu  
Letter |wrote teacher |sc-
- (7a) Mwenda ka-gala zingodi  
Mwenda SC-brought firewood  
Mwenda brought firewood
- (7b) Zingodi zi-gala Mwenda  
Firewood SC-brought Mwenda
- (8a) Imene ka-ja gumtama  
Goat SC-ate maize  
The goat ate the maize
- (8b) Gumtama gu-ja imene  
Maize SC-ate goat

SUBJECT/OBJECT permutation in Ki-Luguru is not limited to two-place verbs. Even three-place verbs, like *ina* can undergo permutation, as is testified by the following sentences:

- (9a) Mwalimu ka-ku-~~i~~a ibalua     <sup>h you-</sup>  
 Teacher SC-gave letter  
 The teacher gave you the letter
- (9b) Ibalua ~~i~~-ku-~~i~~a mwalimu  
 Letter SC-you-gave teacher

In connection with permutations involving three-place verbs, two things should be noted:

- (i) Only the direct Object NP may permute with the Subject NP. The Indirect Object NP may not.
- (ii) If the Indirect Object NP is a lexical noun, this noun must be moved to initial position as shown in

(10b).

- (10a) Mwalimu ka-mu-~~i~~a Lukowo icitabu  
 Teacher SC-OC-gave Lukowo book  
 The teacher gave the book to Lukowo
- (10b) Lukowo, icitabu ci-mu-~~i~~a mwalimu  
 Lukomo, book SC-OC-gave teacher

The reason for moving the Indirect Object NP will be given later. Suffice it to say at this stage that this movement will be shown to be a necessary condition for making the SUBJECT-OBJECT permutation possible.

### 5.1 Grammatical Correctness:

Before an attempt is made to give a systematic account of what gives rise to the construction in question, something must be said about its acceptability. In general, educated speakers tend to disapprove of sentences of this pattern on the grounds that such sentences are 'illogical' and therefore 'ungrammatical'. They readily admit, however, that the construction is frequently used in speech and that it does not appear

to cause any confusion among the speakers. The negative reaction of educated speakers here is readily understandable. Most of them are inclined, through training, to measure grammatical correctness by the rules of logic. Language and logic, however, do not seem to march hand in hand always.

It is important to bear in mind throughout this discussion that we are dealing with a pattern that is used in spoken language. Ki-Luguru, as we have already indicated, has no tradition of writing. It is therefore pointless for me to speculate whether this pattern would occur in writing. Spoken language is a mode of speech with a number of factors affecting the nature of grammatical operations in that mode, which act against its being susceptible of virtually the same grammatical description as that of written language. As we shall see in the course of this discussion there is a very interesting principle of economy operating in sentences with permuted SUBJECT and OBJECT. The principle operates selectively to abridge what would otherwise be a complex structure, involving a Relative Clause and a Predicate nominal. The fact that the phenomenon is found in many Bantu languages shows clearly that it is something to reckon with in description. It cannot be dismissed as a case of slovenly perversion. What W.A. Gatherer said of varieties of English is equally true of Bantu languages showing a persistent use of permuted sentences:

"The familiar style of speech adopted by people sharing a common environment employs such speech devices as elision and condensation of structure simply because it is possible for them to communicate successfully in this more economical way: it is not a lazier, more sluggish, but a more condensed, more exacting language which results." <sup>3</sup>

## 5.2 The Grammarian's Challenge:

It cannot be denied that sentences which permute Subject and Object as described earlier pose a particular challenge to a grammarian whose main interest is not to prescribe what people ought to say, but to give a systematic account of what people regularly and unaffectedly say. The nature of the challenge can perhaps be made explicit by examining briefly what difficulties a particular model of grammar would encounter in the task of assigning structural description to the b sentences of the Ki-Iuguru data given above, assuming that no additional clues are provided. We will use Chomsky's (1965) model for this.

Within the Chomskian model one must distinguish between 'surface' and 'deep' structure of a sentence. The 'surface' structure of a sentence is defined as a proper bracketing of the linear, temporarily given sequence of elements, with the paired brackets labelled by category names. Deep structure, which is in general not identical with its surface structure, is a much

more abstract representation of grammatical relations and syntactic organisation. Complementary to this is the claim that surface structure is derived from deep structure by means of transformations. A transformation is defined by Bach (1966) as 'a rule which requires us or allows us to perform certain changes in the terminal strings of the PS grammar if, and only if, the string has a certain structure'(p.60). It is further claimed that in so far as grammatical relations play a role in determining meaning, it is the grammatical relations of deep structure that are relevant and that transformational rules do not contribute semantically relevant syntactic distinctions. This is all familiar doctrine.

Before examining, say sentences (4a) and (4b) above, in the light of the doctrine just described, we should remind ourselves of two things regarding these sentences:

- (a) the two sentences have identical lexis;
- (b) the two sentences are identical in meaning.

It is generally assumed in TG that sentences which have identical lexis and are identical in meaning also have the same deep grammatical relations. Accordingly the deep grammatical relations obtaining between the elements of sentences (4a) and (4b) can be stated in the following way:

- (a) Subject of: NP,S                      imwana
- (b) Predicate of: VP,S                    -tula iciya

- (c) Direct-Object of: NP,VP      iciya  
 (d) Main Verb of: V,VP      -tula

No matter what form the string takes in surface structure, these four basic relations will remain constant. Since (4a) and (4b) above have the same meaning and the same lexis, it may be assumed that their basic grammatical relations are identical and therefore any difference between them is to be accounted for in terms of optional transformational rules (or some other meaning preserving operation).

Up to this juncture, the reasoning is logical and consistent. Difficulties arise only when one begins to examine the nature of optional transformational rules that motivate the derivation of (4a) and (4b) from the same underlying structure. What is it in the underlying phrase-markers that constitutes a sufficient condition allowing us to perform changes that will yield a surface string such as (4b), assuming that (4a) is a straightforward derivation by a set of obligatory transformations?

One of the early permutational phenomena that provided primary motivation and empirical justification for the theory of transformational grammar was passivisation. It was observed then that a subclass of verbs could freely motivate a structural change that would make a deep structure Object a surface structure Subject. It was also observed that this permutation entailed more operations than mere subjectivisation

of deep Object NP. In English the permutation involves among other things:

- (a) Subjectivisation of deep Object;
- (b) Insertion of auxiliary (be);
- (c) Special marking on the Verb;
- (d) Placement of preposition 'by' before the nominal representing deep Subject.

In Ki-Luguru there is also a subclass of verbs which can motivate a free permutation by which a deep Object is made surface structure Subject. The process involves three operations:

- (a) Subjectivisation of deep Object-nominal
- (b) Special marking on the verb,<sup>4</sup> namely:
  - i) -(ig)wa : in case of agent implicature
  - ii) -ika : in case of non-agent implicature
- (c) Placement of preposition 'na' before the nominal representing deep Subject in the presence of agent-implicature passive marker on the verb:

e.g. (11) Iciya ci-tul-igwa na imwana  
 Pot SC-broken by child  
 The pot was broken by the child

(12) Iciya ci-tul-ika  
 Pot SC-brok-en  
 The pot is broken

In sentence (11) na imwana may optionally be deleted. In sentence (12) however, the agent nominal may not be expressed.

Sentences with permuted Subject and Object resemble sentences (11)(and perhaps (12)) in so far as in both cases the deep Object nominal appears as Subject in surface structure in as much as the verb takes agreement from it. Another point of similarity between

the two is that the verbs that motivate the optional derivation of (11) will also accept the (4b) type of permutation, although this latter construction is by no means confined to that subclass of verbs.

There are, however, two glaring disparities between sentences (11) and (4b):

(i) Whereas the verb in (11) carries a special marking, -igw-, that in (4b) does not.

(ii) Whereas in (11) the nominal representing deep Subject is preceded by a 'na', in (4b) it is not.

Thus (13) and (14) are both unacceptable:

(13) \*Iciya ci-tul-igwa imwana  
Pot SC-brok-en child

(14) \*Iciya ci-tula na imwana  
Pot SC-broke by child

iii) Whereas the deep Subject nominal, together with 'na', may optionally be deleted in (11), in (4b) the deep Subject nominal may not be deleted.

It is thus clear that Passive Sentences are grammatically different from sentences with permuted Subject and Object as understood in the context of this study.

Passivisation is one of the best known permutational transformations in TG, although the precise formulation of it is still a problem. We have already mentioned (see 4.3 above) the Subject and Locative NP permutation,<sup>5</sup> which is likewise different from the (4b) type of permutation in so far as the Subject in the former must be indefinite, whereas in the latter it must be definite.



At this stage one would begin to wonder what other transformation can be invoked to account for (4b).

It seems to me that, unless one is given further information regarding sentence (4b) it is unlikely that one would find a solution. At first sight (4a) and (4b) are apt to be judged to be non-identical in the same way and for the same reasons as the following English sentences are said to be non-identical, despite their having identical lexical items:

(17) The cat ate the rat

(18) The rat ate the cat

We stated earlier that the nominal immediately following a goal-directed verb (in an SVO language) must be deemed to be Object of the verb until the contrary is proved. It is now time to examine more closely the relationship between *tula* and *imwana* in sentence (4b), looking at it from a purely surface structure point of view.

(4a) *Imwana ka-tula iciya*

(4b) *Iciya ci-tula imwana*

From a purely syntactic point of view the relationship between *ci-tula* and *imwana* in sentence (4b) begins to look extremely suspect once a couple of traditional grammatical tests are applied to it in order to measure its degree of cohesion and volutility as compared to that of sentence (4a). Three tests will be used for this purpose: Dislocation, Object Concord, and Pronominalisation.

i) Dislocation: Whereas it is possible in (4a) to move iciya from post-verbal to pre-verbal position, it is not possible to do so with imwana in (4b). Thus (20) is not acceptable:

(19) Imwana iciya ka-(ci)-tula  
Child pot SC-it-broke

(20) \*Iciya imwana ci-tula

ii) Object Concord: It was stated, in an earlier section, that when the Object of a verb is animate, Object Concord may optionally be inserted into the verbal. If, therefore, 'imwana' in (4b) were the Object of tula, it should be possible to have OC in the verbal. The fact that this is not possible shows clearly that imwana is not the Object of tula in (4b).

(21) \*Iciya ci-mu-tula imwana

iii) Pronominalisation: Whereas it is possible to pronominalise the Object iciya in sentence (4a), it is not possible to pronominalise imwana in (4b).

(23) Imwana ka-ci-tula (referent: iciya)  
Child SC-it-broke

(24) \*Iciya ci-mu-tula (supposed referent: imwana)  
Pot SC-him-broke

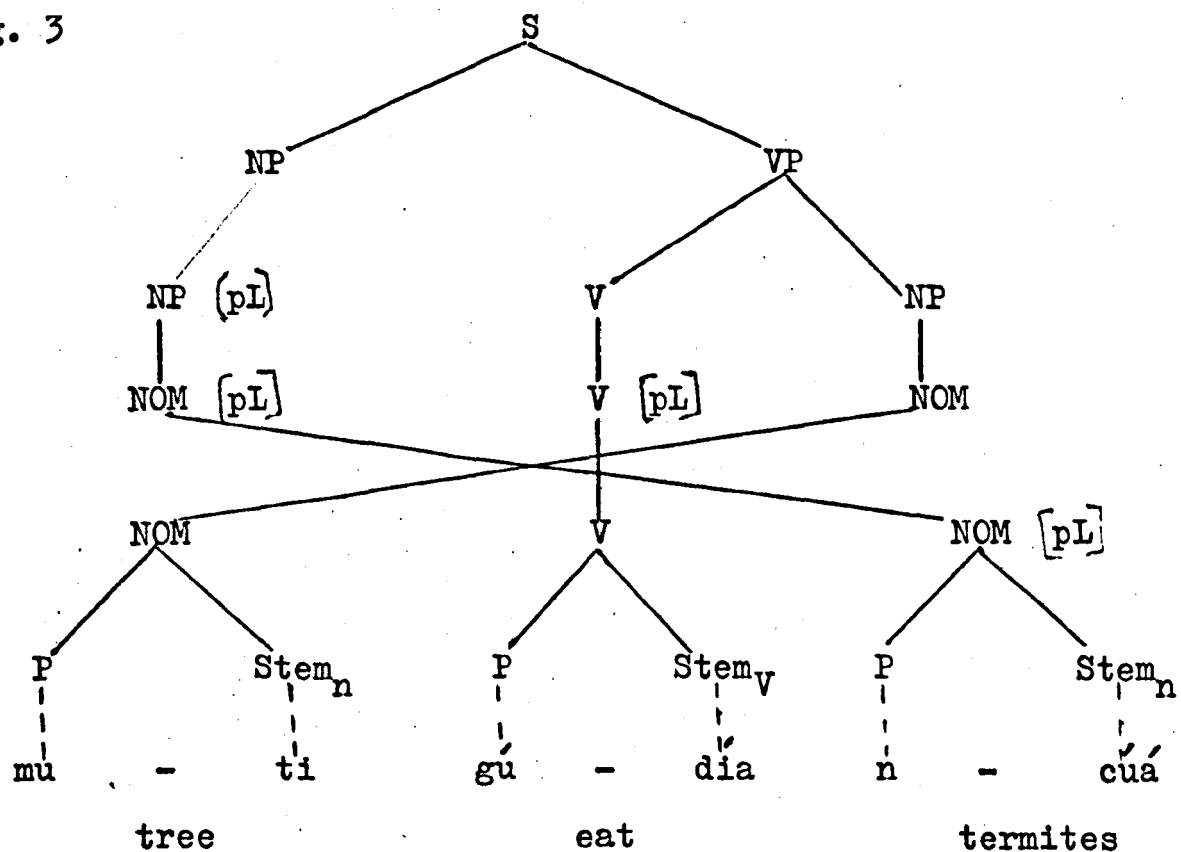
The failure of 'imwana' to respond successfully to these simple grammatical tests provides prima facie evidence of the uniqueness of the status of 'imwana' in (4b). This naturally leads to the question: "What then is the grammatical status of imwana in sentence (4b) in terms of surface structure constituency?" Or "how did (4b) come to acquire the form it has?"

Before proposing what I consider to be the origin and development of sentences like (4b) I would like to indicate briefly what offers have been made in an attempt to resolve the difficulties posed by this construction.

### 5.3

To account for permutation of SUBJECT and OBJECT Meeussen (1971) introduced a rule called 'ANASTASIS'. The operation of the rule is shown in Fig. 3 (taken from page 5, Meeussen 1971):

Fig. 3



'The termites eat the tree'

Although Meeussen does not claim to provide a strict formalization of the rules in question, it is clear from the diagram and from the accompanying statements that he views the construction as evidence in

support of the hypothesis that the Subject-Verb agreement in Bantu languages should be replaced 'by a more general rule which applies even if the NP preceding the verb is not the Subject'. We will demonstrate, however, that such a replacement is not necessary since the syntactic situations in which the Subject-verb agreement collapses are unique, at least in Ki-Luguru. The operation of Agreement in permuted sentences is constrained by a deletion transformation that creates a conflict of rules. The conflict is cleverly resolved by an obscure principle which resembles Ross's (1967) clause-mateness principle.

Whiteley (1972) takes a remarkably different approach to the problem. He seems to suggest that permutation of the type in question is a manifestation of one of the restatement possibilities peculiar to a particular semantic class of verbs. Whiteley's suggestion must be seen against the background of the primary aim of his article, namely 'to attempt to reach a classification of Swahili verbs in terms of their capacity for participation in different kinds of complexes'. He noticed in the course of this exercise that choice of verb imposes constraints not only on the choice of concomitant nominals but also on the various acceptable ways of organising these nominals in relation to the verb in surface structure:

"An initial question is whether these surface realisations of inter-sentential relationships are correlatable with discoverable semantic properties of verbs which can be listed in the lexical component of the grammar." (P.2).

All those 'verbs' which allow permutation of SUBJECT and OBJECT are assigned to the 'contrastive complex'. Whiteley adds:

"No complete list of verbs accepting this pattern has yet been worked out for any informant."

It is doubtful whether any such list will ever be available. A careful examination of the Ki-Iuguru examples will show that the verbs involved do not belong or cannot be reduced to a particular semantic class. If that is the case, we have to rule out 'semantic property of the verb' as the explanation for the permutation. It is curious that Whiteley should have grasped the inner character of the construction but failed to explicitate it without recourse to semantics. At one point he says explicitly:

"this pattern (contrastive complex) is associated with marked retrospective focus" (p.10).

This statement I believe sums up the basic character of the permuted sentence and provides the key to the understanding of its derivation and syntactic organisation. To understand the surface structure syntactic organisation of (4b), therefore, we have to

probe into its derivation in terms of FOCUS (or contrastive stress).

#### 5.4.

Many a fine rule of grammar gets shipwrecked as soon as the question of FOCUS is brought in. Postal (1971), for example, claims that in English, reflexive passives which are ill-formed when the reflexive word is given ordinary stress, appear to be well-formed as soon as ordinary stress is replaced by contrastive stress:

- a. \*Harry was shaved by himself
- b. Harry was shaved by himself

Another case also given by Postal and involving reflexives is the following:

- c. \*Harry is amusing to himself
- d. Harry is amusing to himself

If these observations are correct, it must be accepted that contrastive stress plays a crucial role in determining grammatical well-formedness. Whether its role is to be limited to derived structure is an arguable question.

The function of focus in communication has been well-described by Chomsky (1971) in the following words:

"Choice of focus determines the relation of an utterance to responses, to utterances to which it is a possible response, and to other utterances in the discourse" (p.205).

Viewed thus, focus is intimately connected with questions; indeed in some languages focus construction and question sentences are identical in form. Focus can be expressed by intonation or by a particular sentence-form. In English both strategies are used. In Ki-Luguru sentence-form is used more frequently.

When focus is expressed by sentence form there arises a difficulty in structural analysis within Transformational theory. Are such sentences to be derived from the same underlying structure as that of the corresponding non-focus sentences? Whichever way the question is answered, it appears to pose problems of either representation or interpretation, (see Pseudo-clefts below).

In order to account for the curious syntactic organisation of sentence (4b) and others of its type, it is necessary, I believe, to postulate a sentence configuration which takes into account what such a sentence is supposed to answer as suggested by Chomsky in the passage quoted above. In this respect, (4a) can be said to be ambiguous in so far as it can be an answer to any of the following questions:

- a. What happened?
- b. What did the child do?
- c. What did the child break?

As one moves from a to c the amount of information requested gets progressively narrower as can be seen from the kind of abbreviated answers appropriate to

each of the three questions:

- i) imwana katula iciya (S)
- ii) katula iciya (VP)
- iii) iciya (NP)

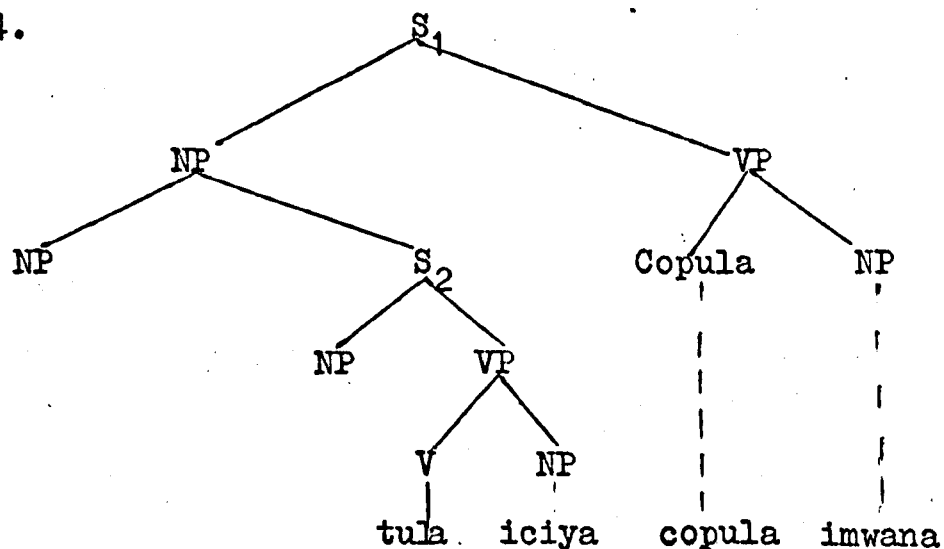
Although a is a general question calling for a full-sentence answer, it is significant that (4b) can never be an appropriate answer to question a. This again underlines the uniqueness of (4b). The only question to which (4b) is a possible response is something like d:

d. Who broke the pot? or, more appropriately:

The pot, who broke it?

Our basic hypothesis will therefore be that (4b) represents a subject-focus sentence transformationally derived from something like figure 4.

Figure 4.



In developing the argument that renders our claim plausible we will have to make an extensive excursion into different facets of Ki-Luguru which, in various ways, provide motivation and support for our claim.



The facets that will be looked into and the reasons for looking into them are these:

1. Relativisation:

Reason:  $S_2$  in Fig. 4 meets the structural requirements of relativisation; moreover relativisation, as will be shown, sometimes involves inversion of structure.

2. Pseudo-Clefts:

Reason:  $S_1$  in Fig. 4 has the structural form of a 'Relative Clause and Predicate' construction, which is the usual form of Pseudo-Clefts. In Ki-Luguru, X-question, X-negation and Focusing all have underlying pseudo-cleft constructions.

3. Constituent Questions:

Reason: Through Relative Clause Reduction and Predicate Lowering, certain constituent questions, which have underlying pseudo-cleft constructions, can optionally be reduced to superficially simple structures under certain grammatical conditions.

4. Question - Answer Relationship:

Reason: Question and Answer share identical pre-suppositions and use focus items that are somehow related. They are therefore likely to be similar also in construction.

5. Analogical Relative Pronoun Deletion:

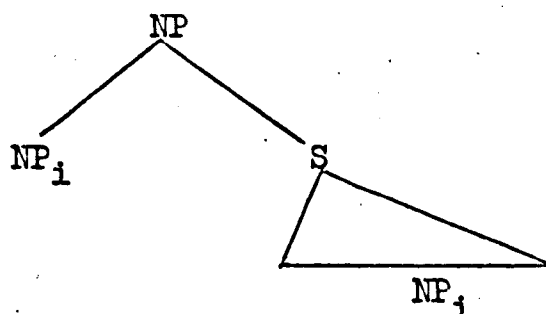
Reason: Relative Clause Reduction entails relative Pronoun deletion. Relative Pronoun deletion is normally allowed in Object Relative Clause within a particular

structural configuration. It is our claim that the Relative Pronoun can also be deleted in a Subject Relative Clause in analogy to Object Relative Clause in almost identical circumstances.

## CHAPTER SIX : RELATIVISATION

Essentially relativisation refers to the grammatical process of adjoining to an NP a Clause containing within its structure an NP which is referentially identical with the NP to which the clause is adjoined. Schematically this can be represented as in Figure 5.

Fig. 5



The formal means by which this syntactic relationship can be expressed most satisfactorily is still a problem. It is not even obvious what identity of reference means.

Although identity of reference is considered to be a necessary condition for relativisation, it is not a sufficient condition. Relativisation may be blocked because of failure of the coreferential NP to fulfil other important conditions. These conditions can best be illustrated by discussing the three-stage process of relative clause formation.

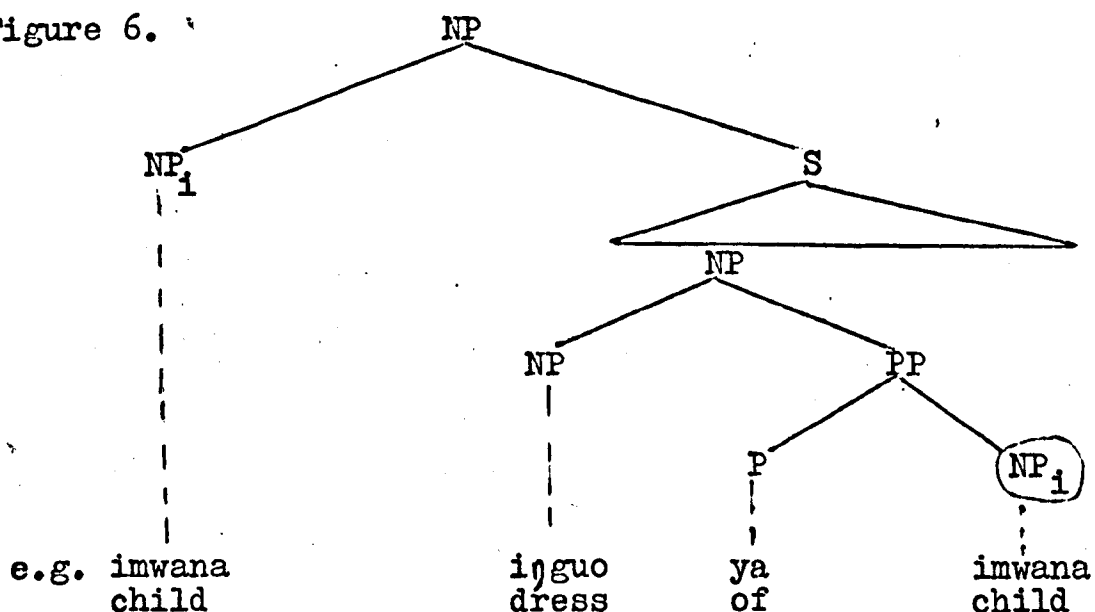
i) **Pronominalization:** It is a convenient abstraction to assume that an NP to be relativised on must be pronominalizable. Repetition of the coreferential NP is not normally permitted in a restrictive relative clause. Pronominalizability is a convenient abstraction to make in connection with relativisation because it

enables us to bring out the essentially deictic and connective character of relative pronouns which accounts for their semantic affinity to coreferential personal pronouns.

- ii) Relativisation: A relative pronoun differs from all other pronouns by the simple fact that it possesses the character of downgrading. Any string containing a relative pronoun as one of its constituents is automatically deprived of sentence status. If we consider sentence status as marked by the feature 'finality' we can describe the relative pronoun as the marker of non-finality in so far as the string of which it is a constituent can only function within another cluster. It is only by reducing the pronoun resulting from (i) to subordinate or component-like status that it is possible to adjoin the relevant clause to an NP. Different languages use different devices for signalling this reduction of status. These include such devices as relative words, relative affixes and relative tone or intonation. Ki-Luguru uses affixes.
- iii) Relative Pronoun Attraction: Normally the relative clause immediately follows its antecedent and the relative pronoun normally comes first in its clause, even if the relativised NP does not normally occur in initial position, such as OBJECT, Prepositional OBJECT etc. It is therefore necessary to postulate a movement of some kind whereby the Relative Pronoun eventually comes to occupy a position adjacent to the antecedent.

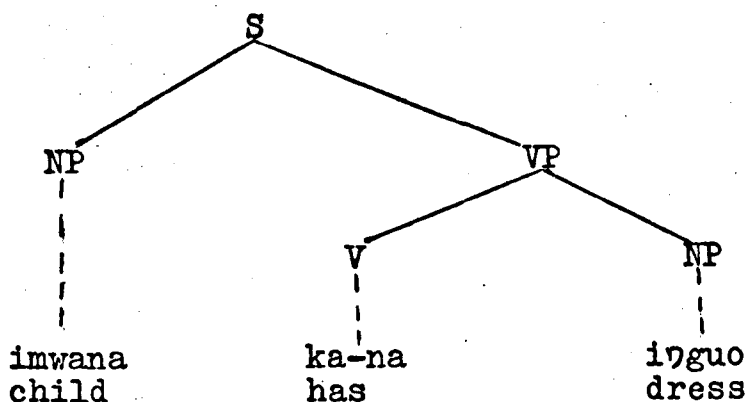
Due to Ross's Complex NP Constraint (Ross 1967)<sup>6</sup> there are NPs which cannot be relativised on in spite of the fact that they fulfil the coreferentiality condition. A good example of this in Ki-Luguru is the possessor NP which may not be relativised on without the prior modification of the structure of the NP dominating the genitive. This is one clear case where Relativisation blocks not because of coreferentiality but because Relative Pronoun attraction cannot take place.

Figure 6.



The encircled NP cannot be relativised on directly in spite of its coreferentiality with the NP directly dominated by the highest NP. If the noun under the encircled NP must be relativised it is necessary first to destroy the original genitive complex NP by converting it into a 'HAVE' sentence with the original possessor NP as SUBJECT, as indicated in Figure 7 below.

Figure 7



Relative Pronoun Attraction as a rule of relativisation has been formulated in a variety of ways by various scholars. These varieties are often a reflection of the type of language data in relation to which a particular scholar makes his formulation. There are also disagreements regarding the sequence of application of rules in the three-stage process of relative clause formation outlined above.

Since most of the disagreements are of marginal relevance to what we intend to discuss ultimately, this matter will not be gone into here. However, there is one aspect of the controversy surrounding the nature of Relative Pronoun Attraction which will be touched on later. This concerns the question of whether Relative Pronoun Movement is a chopping operation, as suggested by Ross (1967), or a copying operation as suggested by Perlmutter (1972). Perlmutter's suggestion appears to stand closer to the surface structure facts of Ki-Luguru so far as relativisation on prepositional OBJECTS is concerned (see 6.5).

Since each syntactic position tends to display some special characteristic feature under relativisation, it might be useful to look a little closer at the formational strategy of Relative Clauses with reference to each of the following syntactic positions: SUBJECT, DIRECT OBJECT, INDIRECT OBJECT, OBLIQUE OBJECT, GENITIVE AND ADVERBIAL. But before doing so, I should like to comment briefly on:

- (a) the relationship between relativisation and other modes of combining propositions;
- (b) some of the proposed deep structure representation of relative clauses.

Ad(a): Consider the following sentences.

- (1) Imwana ka-gua  
child SC-fall (= the child fell)
- (2) Imwana ka-o-lila  
Child SC-T-cry (= the child is crying)

(1) and (2) represent two propositions which may or may not be related. If they are related, say by having the same referent, there are many ways of reporting this in one complex or compound sentence.

- (i) Co-ordination: (3) a. Imwana ka-gua hebu ka-o-lila  
Child fell and-then cried

This combination puts the two events on the same scale and grammatical status but asserts that one event occurred before the other, without necessarily implying any causality relationship between them.

The closest paraphrase in English is:

The child fell first and then cried.

- (ii) Adverbilization: (3)b. Imwana ka-gua hebu o-lila  
 Child fell therefore he-  
 crying

-The child fell that is why he is crying

This combination attempts to link the two events as cause and effect.

- (iii) Relativisation: (3)c. Imwana ya-gu-ile ka-o-lila  
 Child who-fell-perf sc-crying  
 The child who fell is crying

or (3)d. Imwana ya-o-lila ka-gua  
 Child who-crying sc.fell  
 The child who is crying fell

The purpose of these sentences is to illustrate how two predications can be combined in various ways to report the same events. Relativisation is only one of many possible strategies by which more than one predication or proposition can be presented in surface structure. Each syntactic structure seems to possess some semantic characteristic that exclusively belongs to it, which makes it singularly appropriate for a particular task in communication.<sup>7</sup> It is, in my view, unilluminating to try to relate relativisation with co-ordination for example. The two are no doubt related in so far as they both presuppose more than one proposition but differ in the way of projecting these two propositions.

Assuming that one of the distinctive characteristics of relativisation as opposed to other modes of co-projection of multiple predications, is coreferentiality of NPs, how does one go about deciding which string will be embedded into the other? Does it matter which one is embedded? If so, why? S. Thomson (1971)



suggests that 'what the speaker thinks the hearer knows will be embedded in the new information'. This implies that one must assume that one of the predications will have to be 'old information' to the hearer in order to justify its being embedded as a relative clause. However, consider the following English sentence:

'The one who will put his finger into my cup will betray me.'

Is the hearer here supposed to know already who the traitor will be? Compare it with the following sentence

'The one who will betray me will put his finger into my cup'.

The two sentences are obviously different. The first asserts that 'someone will betray me', the second asserts that 'someone will put his finger into my cup'. The role of the relative clause in either sentence has nothing to do with what the speaker thinks the hearer knows. Rather, it has something to do with what the speaker thinks the hearer needs to know in order to identify the referent correctly. This way of viewing relativisation will provide a better explanation of why proper nouns cannot be relativised on: they are supposed to be self-identificatory. Only those nouns which can have more than one referent are capable of being modified by a restrictive clause. It therefore looks as if relativisation is a syntactic device of determination rather than presupposition.

### Ad(b) Deep Structure Representation of Relative Clauses.

Traditional grammar has always distinguished two types of relative clauses: the restrictive and the non-restrictive clause. The former refers to what may be called the proper relative clause, in so far as it alone uniquely identifies a referent which would otherwise be indeterminate. The non-restrictive relative clause, however, is an extensional description of a referent which could presumably be identified even without the information provided by the relative clause. Because of its non-identificatory character, this latter type of clause can modify a proper noun, whereas the former cannot. What is already uniquely identified needs no more identification.

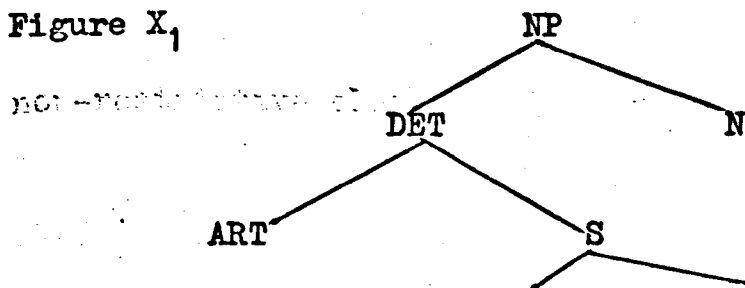
Attempts to provide a formal representation for relative clauses have brought to light a variety of facts which seem to make it difficult to classify all relative clauses under one or the other of the traditional categories. It seems to me that there is no <sup>pro</sup>priori reason why relative clauses should be confined to two categories. It may be necessary to distinguish more categories. One possible new category of relative clauses is that which arises from quantifiers, including nouns preceded by the indefinite article, (see Seuren 1969 p.188).

Among the numerous proposals for the formal representation of relative clauses, I will mention

only three here:

(a) Chomsky (1965):

Figure X<sub>1</sub>

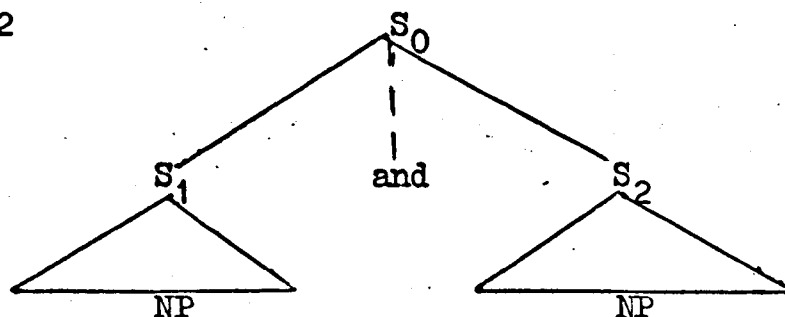


According to Chomsky the relative clause should be dominated by the category DETERMINER because it is in the nature of the determiner to restrict the potential scope of the head-noun. The restrictive relative clause likewise limits the potential scope of the noun to which it is adjoined as explained earlier. It is therefore proper, Chomsky argues, that the restrictive clause should, in recognition of its semantic function, be assigned a constituency within the DETERMINER.

There are arguments in support of this approach for certain constructions in English (see Stockwell, p.424). One of the worrying aspects of Chomsky's proposal however, is the presence of DET in deep structure. Many scholars have come to question the legitimacy of DET in deep structure. It is felt that the DET should be introduced transformationally as a discourse feature involving reference and presupposition. For this, see for example, Postal (1966), Rosenbaum (1968), Bach, (1968).

(b) Thompson (1971):

Figure X<sub>2</sub>



Thompson suggests that all relative clauses, whether restrictive or non-restrictive, arise through sentence co-ordination, and not embedding as suggested by other scholars. The examples she gives in illustration of her point all involve an indefinite headnoun, thus:

I met a girl who speaks Basque

= I met a girl and she speaks Basque

Since the two sentences mean the same thing, Thompson concludes that their underlying representation must also be the same. However, this kind of paraphrase-ability does not apply when the antecedent is definite.

I met <sup>the</sup> girl who speaks Basque

\* I met <sup>the</sup> girl and she speaks Basque

Such sentences, according to Thompson, do not constitute a counter-argument to her proposal. They rather point to a different dimension of discourse:

"The choice of the determiner will in general correlate with certain presuppositions which the speaker makes about the extent of his listener's knowledge" (p.5).

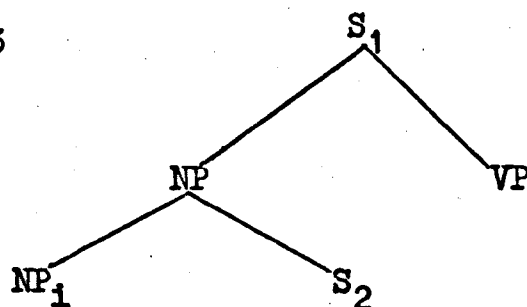
As pointed out earlier, at a fairly abstract level Thompson's suggestion looks plausible in so far as it

recognises the fact that relativisation is only one of the possible strategies for combining two or more propositions. It is, however, difficult to motivate Thompson's proposal satisfactorily at the syntactic level, as the examples above show. It is <sup>not</sup> enough to point out where two constructions converge; but it is also important to pinpoint where they diverge and provide a convincing account of why they diverge. If ~~it~~ is at the discourse level, then discourse must be shown to be able to handle the facts in question satisfactorily.

Thompson's examples appear to me to provide an argument for postulating more categories of relative clauses. A relative clause adjoined to an indefinite NP looks singularly different<sup>8</sup> from that adjoined to a definite NP. Perhaps this is an example of a relative clause arising from a quantified NP. In Ki-Luguru it is not possible to adjoin a relative clause to an indefinite NP. (See Definitization below.)

(c) Ross (1967):

Figure X<sub>3</sub>



In Ross's analysis the relative clause is dominated by an NP node. Under it is another NP which is a sister

constituent of the relative clause. In our discussion we are going to adopt this approach, for the simple reason that it appears to be closer to the surface facts of Ki-Luguru in that the relative clause (also adjectives) follows the headnoun. Given the present state of enquiry, it is not at all clear which approach is best.

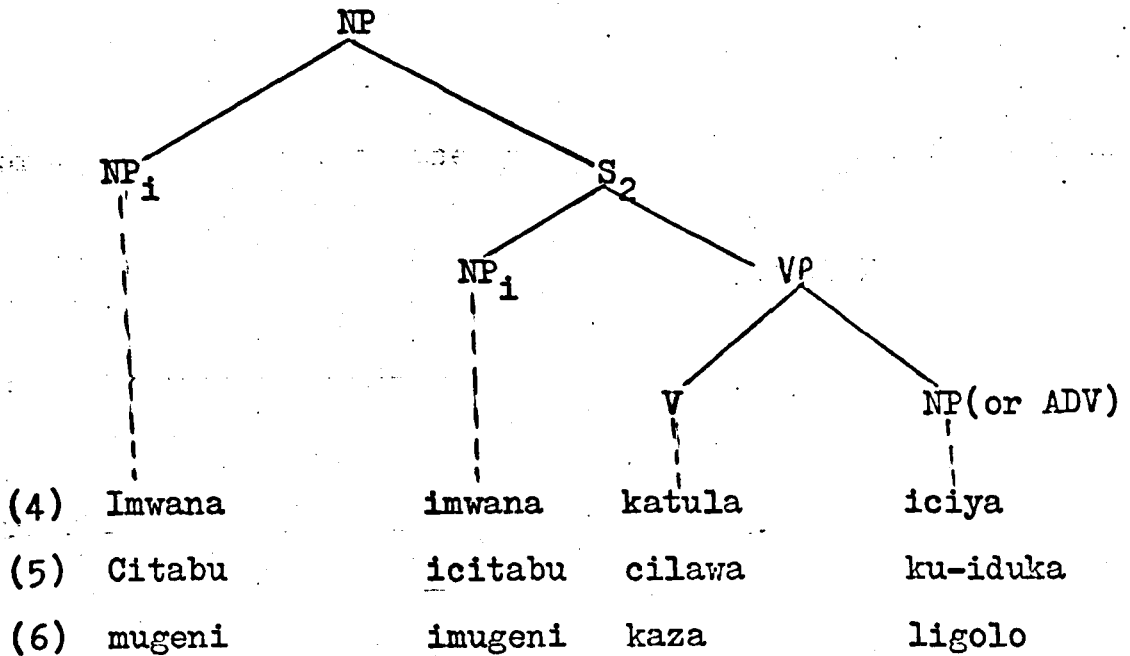
#### 6.1 SUBJECT RELATIVE CLAUSE:

A subject relative clause is one in which the relativised coreferential NP is SUBJECT of the embedded sentence. The grammatical function of the antecedent (or the matrix-NP) is immaterial. Thus in 4-6 below the coreferential NP in the  $S_2$  sentences is SUBJECT, whereas in the  $S_1$  sentences the antecedent is SUBJECT, OBJECT and prepositional Object respectively.

- (4)  $S_1$  Imwana ka-o-lila  
The child is crying
- $S_2$  Imwana ka-tula iciya  
The child broke the pot
- (5)  $S_1$  Mwalimu ka-ogaya citabu  
The teacher gave me the book
- $S_2$  Icitabu ci-lawa ku-i-duka  
The book came from the shop
- (6)  $S_1$  Mwalimu ka-o-longa na mugeni  
The teacher is talking to a visitor
- $S_2$  Imugeni ka-za ligolo  
The visitor came yesterday

The structural configuration for all these relativisable positions is the same:

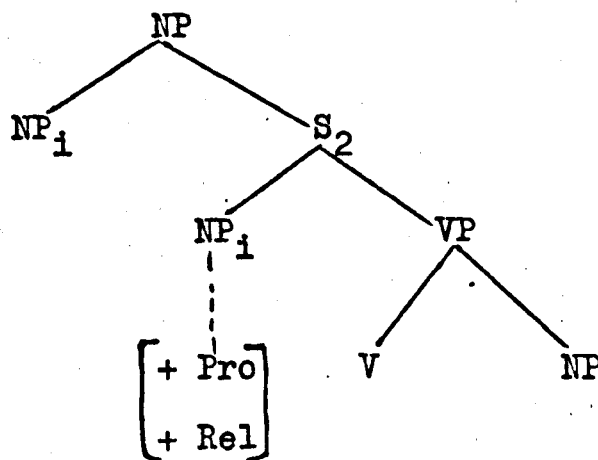
Figure 8:



The first step towards relativisation, given in Fig. 8-type of structure, is to transform the second identical NP into a pronoun. This is a purely mechanical operation. The pro-form is not spelt out at this stage but only indicated. The primary object of this step is to get rid of the lexical noun.

The next step is the transformation of the pro-form into a relative pro-form so that a structure like the next figure is produced:

Figure 9:



In languages in which the relative pronoun is an

independent word the process of relativisation terminates here with the insertion of the relative word in the appropriate place. In Ki-Luguru the relative marker is not an independent word, but an affix which must normally be attached to the verb. We may therefore postulate here a kind of relative affix attachment transformation which is an obligatory transformation (T6) for Ki-Luguru:

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{Pro} \\ + \text{Rel} \end{bmatrix} + V \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{Pro} \\ + \text{Rel} \end{bmatrix} - V$$

Needless to say, the relative pronoun agrees in gender and number with its antecedent. Accordingly, its actual shape will vary with the gender and number of the antecedent much in the same way as other agreement morphemes vary with the gender and number of the nouns they refer to. Thus, in sentences 4 and 5 above, which have antecedents belonging to different classes, the RP's will predictably show differences in shape:

- (4) Imwana  
(+ animate)  $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{Pro} \\ + \text{Rel} \end{bmatrix} + V + X$   
=Imwana      ya - V + X
- (5) Citabu  
(-animate)  $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{Pro} \\ + \text{Rel} \end{bmatrix} + V + X$   
=Icitabu      ci - V + X

Often the shape of the RP will not be different from that of the verbal concord. This might prompt one to ask the question: "How does one differentiate a relative



pronoun from a verbal concord then?". The answer is that the shape of the verb in a relative clause differs considerably from that in an independent clause.

Ki-Luguru, it will be recalled from Part One, has two sets of Indicative verbal forms: Assertive or Absolute and Relative forms.

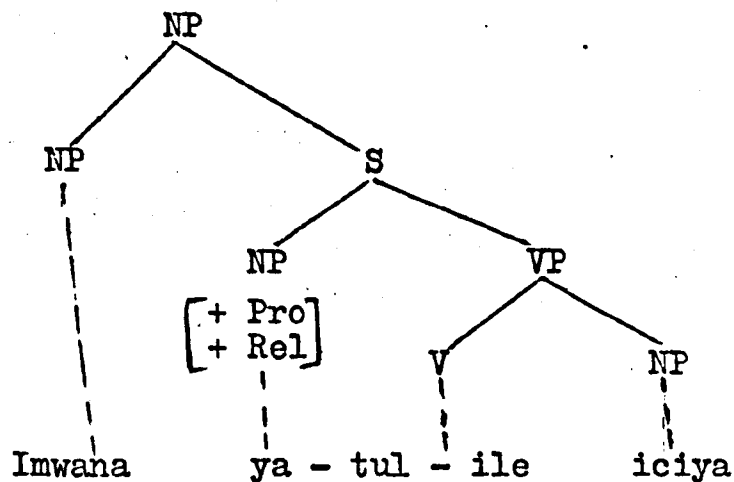
To illustrate this point let us consider how sentence  $S_1$  and  $S_2$  would be combined by relativisation:

$S_1$  Imwana ka-o-lila

$S_2$  Imwana ka-tula iciya

After relative pronoun attachment and spelling we get something like Figure 10.

Figure 10.



Two notable changes take place in the shape of the verb:

- (a) The RP replaces the original verbal concord ka - found in sentence  $S_2$ ;
- (b) The special suffix -ile is attached to the stem of the verb in place of the neutral suffix -a.

There would be no need for stating these two changes if relativisation were derived from two strings with minimal information like  $S_3$  and  $S_4$  below:

(3) S<sub>3</sub> Imwana<sub>1</sub> - present - lila

(4) S<sub>4</sub> Imwana<sub>1</sub> - past - tula ciya

One of the features of Subject Relative Clause formation that distinguishes it from all other relativisable positions is the fact that it does not involve relative pronoun movement. All that is required is that the embedded string should be placed in adjacent position, right side, with the NP serving as the antecedent to the embedded clause. Ki-Luguru being an SVO language, the subject of the embedded clause will automatically be adjacent to the antecedent.

(7) Imwana ya-tul -ile iciya ka-o- lila  
Child RP-break-PERF pot SC-PRES-cry  
The child who broke the pot is crying

(8) Mwalimu ka-n -gaya icitabu ci -law-ile kuiduka  
teacher SC-past-me-give book RP - come loc-shop  
The teacher gave me the book (which is) from the shop

(9) Mwalimu ka-o -logga na imugeni ya-x-ile ligolo  
Teacher-SC-pres-speak with visitor RP-come yesterday  
The teacher is taking to the visitor who came yesterday

#### 6.1.1 Defini<sup>ti</sup>zation:

Notice that in (8) and (9) the antecedent carries a specifier, whereas in the original strings, the NPs 'citabu' and 'mugeni' had no specifier. Obviously the specifier comes in with relativisation. It is not possible in Ki-Luguru to have a relative clause attached to a NP which is not *definite*.

In Ki-Luguru the equivalent construction to an English relative clause on a non-definite NP is a kind of paratactic construction. Thus:

English: I met a woman who speaks English.

Ki-Luguru: \*Niitingana na pinga ya-o-longa ci-ngereza.

Rather: niitingana na pinga: ka-o-longa ci-ngereza.  
I met with a woman: She speaks English

## 6.2 Object Relative Clause

An Object Relative Clause is one in which the relativised NP is the Direct Object of the verb of the embedded string. In discussing the formation of such clauses there are a variety of factors to be taken into consideration. Unlike Subject Relativisation, object relativisation is sensitive to certain characteristic features of the nouns appearing in the embedded strings. Three of the main considerations are:

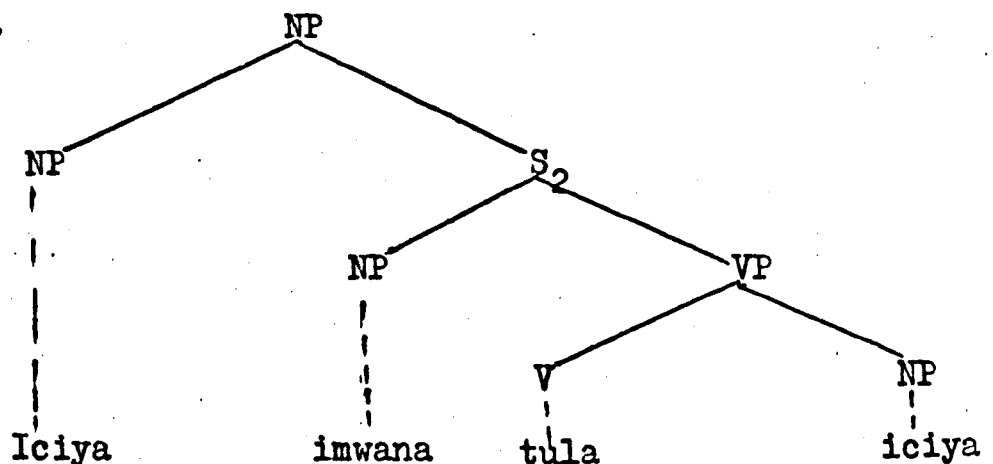
- (a) Whether the direct object is animate or inanimate;
- (b) Whether the subject of the embedded string is an independent word (noun or pronoun) or an affixal pronoun;
- (c) Whether the direct object is object in a SVOO structure.
- (i) Non-animate object with a lexical subject:

e.g. (11)a. Iciya ci-angu  
The pot is mine

b. Imwana ka-tula iciya  
The child broke the pot

Configuration for relativisation:

Figure 11.



The early operations that must be applied to configuration 11 are no different from those applied to subject relativisation. For ease of reference we will number the relevant operations in the order in which they were mentioned:

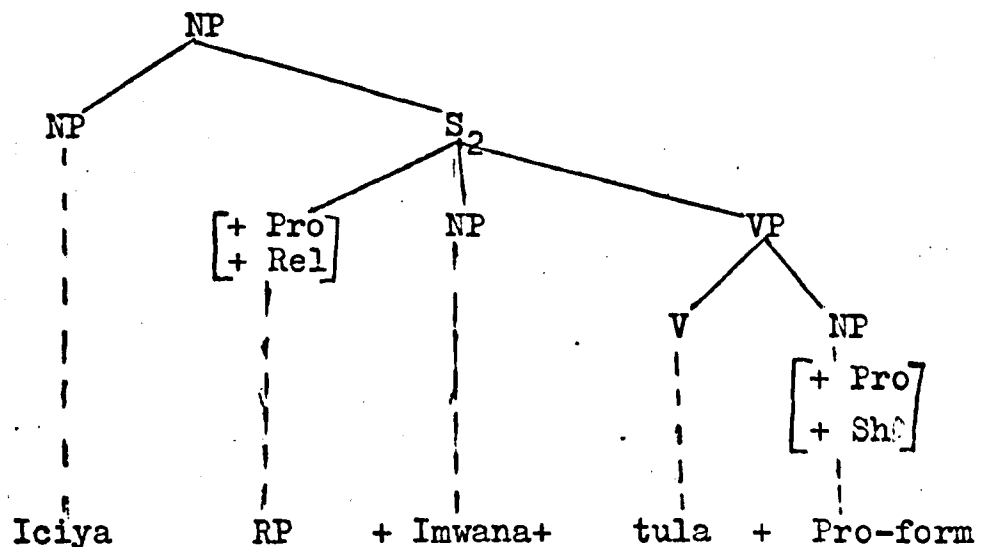
T1: Pronominalization of coreferential NP

T2: Relativisation of coreferential pro-form

T3: Relative pronoun movement

T3 must apply in object relative clauses. The application of T3 to the output of T2 yields something like figure 12:

Figure 12.



By postulating the presence of a shadow pronoun in the position vacated by the RP in order to take a new position next to the headnoun, we adopt Perlmutter's suggestion that RP movement is not a chopping but a copying movement. In other words, the RP remains in its original position in shadow form while some of its features are copied across in an ad hoc; created

constituency next to the antecedent. The argument in support of this treatment will be given later. (6.5.)

Subject Postposing:

The order of elements in the string under Figure 12 poses a serious problem for the RP because, as was stated earlier, the RP in Ki-Luguru must be attached to a verb. Here, however, between RP and the verb 'tula', there stands a lexical noun, 'imwana', the subject of the embedded sentence. If the subject of the embedded sentence were an affixal pro-form no problem would arise because two or more affixes can be attached to the same verb consecutively in Ki-Luguru. Thus, anything like the following structure is acceptable:

RP - Pro-form - verb

- (12) Ci - n - long-ile  
Which -I - Say - Perf.

It seems logical therefore to expect the lexical subject between the RP and the verb in Figure 12 to move out of that position to somewhere else in the sentence to allow the RP to be attached to the verb. The regular position of such a displaced subject is after the verb. This movement is called subject-postposing. (T<sub>4</sub>.)

- (13) Iciya RP + V + Imwana

In strict accordance with Perlmutter's principle of shadow pronouns as an essential property of constituent movements we should also provide that the postposed subject NP leaves a shadow pronoun at its original position.

- (14) Iciya (RP - Proform - V - Proform + Imwana)  
                     (Subject)                      (Object)

$T_4$  will therefore be described as Lexical-subject postposition.

After lexical subject postposition it is probably wise to postulate a transformation that will delete all shadow pronouns that are not needed in surface structure ( $T_5$ .) Thus the shadow pronoun of the relativised object noun phrase will always be deleted, except when it is preceded by a preposition, (see below). The shadow pronoun of the postposed subject is always deleted too unless such a subject noun has been topicalised. It is important here to distinguish postposition from topicalisation. A noun phrase can be postposed without being topicalised. The two processes are apt to be confused with regard to object relativisation because often the postposed subject may also be topicalised. If the subject NP is merely postposed then the shadow pronoun must be deleted. But if the subject NP is not only postposed but also topicalised, then the shadow pronoun may not be deleted but must be spelt out phonologically:

e.g. (15) Iciya ci-tul-ile imwana  
                     pot     RR-break-Perf child  
                     The pot which the child broke

(16) Iciya, ci-a-tul-ile, imwana  
                     pot     RP-he-break-Perf child  
                     The pot which he broke, the child

One of the reasons for maintaining a syntactic difference between (15) and (16) is the fact that in (16) the topicalised subject 'imwana' can also be moved

to sentence initial position without affecting other elements in the structure. But the postposed subject NP in (15) cannot be moved to sentence initial position.

Thus (17) is unacceptable:

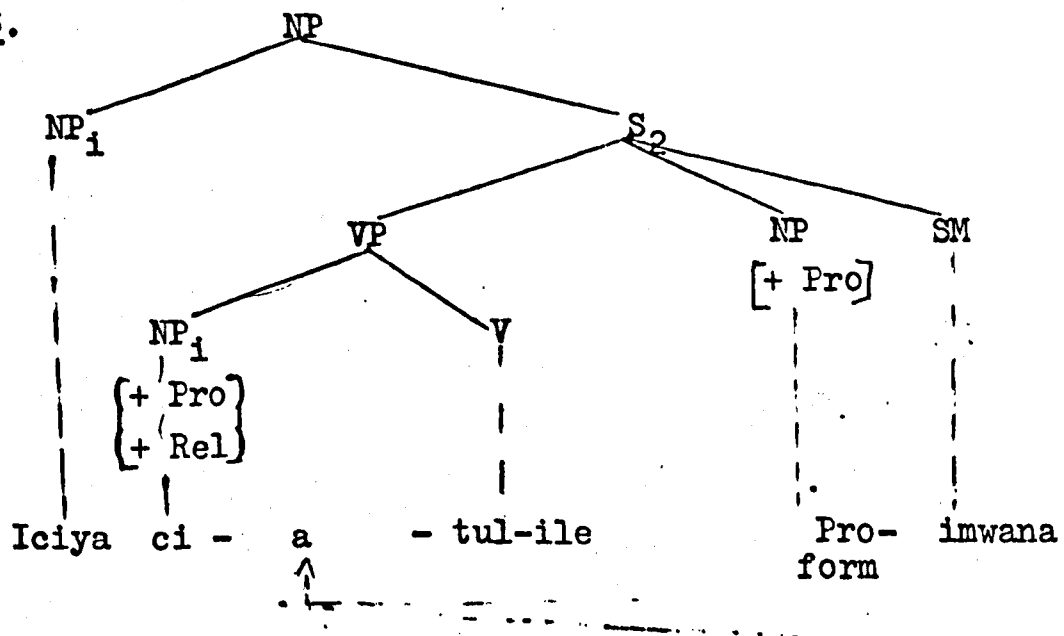
(17) \*Imwana, iciya ci-tul-ile

(18) Imwana, iciya ci-a-tul-ile  
 Child pot RR-he-broke  
 The child, the pot which he broke

The process of topicalization has far-reaching consequences on the syntax of object questions, as will be shown later.

Since postposition and topicalisation are distinct, though related, processes as far as object relativisation is concerned, one might wonder whether we are not dealing with two separate proforms here: one arising from postposition, and the other from topicalisation. We could then maintain that the shadow pronoun of a postposed subject is always deleted. Topicalisation generates its own proform which is subsequently inserted between RP and the verb, as indicated in the following figure:

Figure 13.



This latter approach is probably more closely related to the surface structure facts of topicalisation or dislocation, which is a fairly widespread phenomenon in Ki-Luguru and many other Bantu languages. But simple postposition, as against topicalised postposition, is a feature of probably only few Bantu languages.

It might be useful to look at the phenomenon of subject postposition against the background of other Bantu languages. What seems to stand out most clearly is that subject postposition takes place obligatorily only in those languages in which the relative pronoun is NOT <sup>a</sup> free form, but a verb-bound-affix, or, in the case of languages with multiple patterns of relativisation, when the affixation pattern is used. Swahili is one example of a language with different patterns of relativisation, and one in which the relative pronoun is a free form. In the other two patterns the RP is an affix occurring as an infix in one pattern and as a suffix in the other. All these three patterns are subject to certain tense/aspect restrictions of some kind.

e.g. (a) RP free form:

S<sub>1</sub> Swali amba-lo<sup>9</sup> Bw. daktari amekataa kujibu  
Question particle-RR (RR) Doctor refused  
to answer

The question which the doctor refused to  
answer

S<sub>2</sub> Swali ambalo amekataa kujibu, Bwana daktari

In this pattern subject-postposition is optional. In my view, however, sentence S<sub>1</sub> is unmarked while S<sub>2</sub> is



slightly marked with a distinctive flair of topicalization of the postposed subject NP.

(b) RP an infix

S<sub>3</sub> Swali a-li-lo-kataa kujibu Bwana daktari  
Question SC-fast-RF-refuse answer (Mr) doctor.

S<sub>4</sub> \*Swali Bwana daktari ali-lo-kataa kujibu  
RP

S<sub>4</sub> is ill-formed because the RP stands removed from its antecedent by the intervention of the subject NP.

In S<sub>1</sub> and S<sub>2</sub> and S<sub>3</sub>, the RP is in the word just next to the antecedent. Hence no problem.

(c) RP a suffix:

S<sub>5</sub> Swali akataa-lo kujibu Bwana daktari  
Question SC-habit-refuse-RP refuse (Mr) doctor.

S<sub>6</sub> \*Swali Bwana daktari akataa-lo-kujibu.

The last pattern is limited to the tenseless form of the verb, which generally denotes habituality or permanent disposition, or a characteristic trait.

e.g. S<sub>7</sub> A-uliza-ye a-taka kujua  
He-ask-RP he-want to know  
He who asks wants to know

Both verbs lack overt tense markers.

Pattern (a) can occur with practically any tense.

Pattern (b) cannot occur with certain tenses such as the -me- tense:

S<sub>8</sub> \*Swali a-me-lo-kataa kujibu Bwana daktari.

The fact that the affixal relative pronouns tend to occur with selected tenses only, is an indication of the markedness of their character.

Of immediate relevance to our discussion is the non-acceptability of S4 and S6 as against S3 and S5, with which they differ only on one score, namely the position of the subject of the embedded sentence. The fact that S1 and S2 are both acceptable confirms the hypothesis that it is the status of the RP that crucially determines subject-postposition. It is important, however, to note that it is not only the bound status of the RP but also the adjacency principle that is responsible for the migration of the subject NP. The two features, therefore, should be regarded as complementary factors in effecting subject post-position.

A feature that appears to be peculiar to Ki-Luguru and Dzamba (see Bokamba 1971) is the absence of a subject marker in the verbal of the embedded clause after subject postposition. As stated earlier, in Ki-Luguru the subject marker shows up between the RP and the verb only when the displaced subject NP is topicalised, otherwise not. Bokamba (1971) reports a similar phenomenon in Dzamba, although he makes no mention of the effect of topicalisation. In all other languages I have had the chance to look at or ask about, some kind of overt subject marker is always present within the structure of the verb, even after subject post-position. Compare the following three sentences of Swahili, Kihung'an and Ki-Luguru:

Swahili: (19) Kiti a-li-cho-nunua Petri jana  
Chair he-Past-RP-buy Peter yesterday

Kihung'an: (20) Kit ki-a-swiim-in Petelo zoon<sup>10</sup>  
Chair RP-he-buy-Past Peter yesterday

Ki-Luguru: (21) Iciti ci-gul-ile Petiri ligolo  
Chair RP-buy-Perf Peter yesterday

= The chair which Peter bought yesterday

The subject marker in both Swahili and Kihung'an are underlined. No such marker exists in the Ki-Luguru rendering of the sentence. At the moment I see no clear way of accounting for the absence of a subject marker in Ki-Luguru and Dzamba as against its obligatory presence in other languages.

(ii) Non-Animate Object with Affixal Subject Pronoun.

This pattern of relativisation has already been mentioned. Again the relevant procedure is exactly the same as in (i) above except that no subject postposing is required. Instead, the RP is attached immediately to the left of the subject marker, which is in turn attached to the verb.

e.g. (22) Iciya ci-(a)-n<sup>t</sup>-ul-ile  
Pot RP-(?)-I-break-Perf.  
The pot I broke

(23) Iciya ci-u-tul-ile  
Pot RP-you-break-Perf.

(24) Iciya ci-a-tul-ile  
Pot RP-he-break-Perf

Two points are worth noting though:

- (a) The optional presence of an intrusive a- in (22). This a appears only before the first person singular subject marker and before the first and second person plural subject markers:

e.g. Ci-a-tu-tul-ile; Ci-a-mu-tul-ile  
 RP-(?)-we-break-Perf; RP-(?)-you-break-Perf.

Again I have no way of accounting for this except to express my suspicion that it might have something to do with linking a of the appertentive construction, (see Part One).

(b) The shape of the relative subject marker is different from the subject marker used with the absolute form of the verb, at least for the singular personal pronouns, (see Table in Part One: 3.5.3.)

(iii) Animate Object with Lexical Subject

Consider the following:

(25)a. Imwana ka-o-gula  
 The child is ill

b. Mwalimu ka-m-towa imwana  
 The teacher hit the child

Supposing we attempt to embed (25)b in (25)a by applying all the T rules mentioned earlier in this discussion, viz:

T<sub>1</sub> = Pronominalisation

T<sub>2</sub> = Relativisation

T<sub>3</sub> = RP attraction.

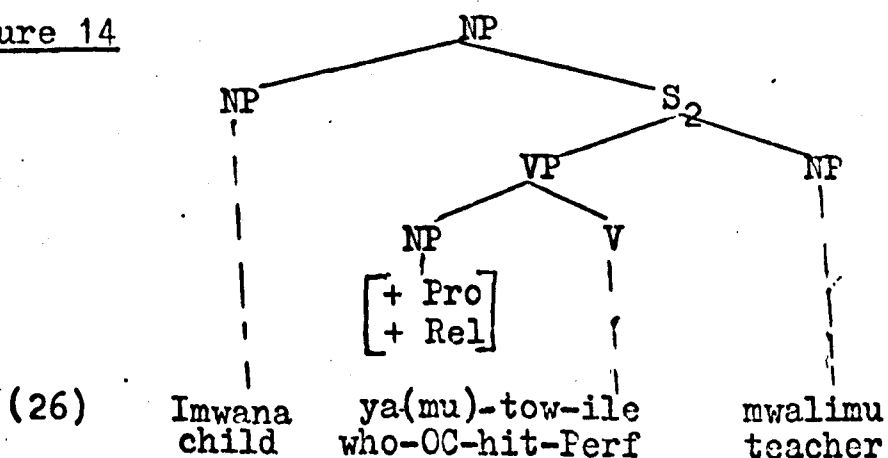
T<sub>4</sub> = Lexical Subject Postposition

T<sub>5</sub> = Shadow Pronoun deletion

T<sub>6</sub> = RP attachment

we would produce something approaching Figure 14.

Figure 14



The configuration clearly represents object relativisation since the relativised NP is dominated by the VP. However, the surface realisation of the string is ambiguous. It could mean either:

The child whom the teacher hit

or The child who hit the teacher

There is no way of telling which is which unless one has something like Figure 14 before his eyes. The presence or absence of the object concord *mu-* does not change anything. The ambiguity persists, partly because there is no difference in form between subject and object relative pronoun; but also because of the presence of two animate nouns, one standing immediately after a goal directed verb - encouraging object interpretation, and the other standing before a goal-directed verb as antecedent to the relative clause. The difficulty is to tell which way the interpretation should go.

This difficulty is not confined to Ki-Luguru. It is also found in Swahili whenever the affix pattern of relativisation is used.

e.g. (27) Mtoto a-li-ye-m-piga mwalimu  
Child SC-Past-RP-OC-hit teacher

This sentence could mean:

The child whom the teacher hit or:

The child who hit the teacher.

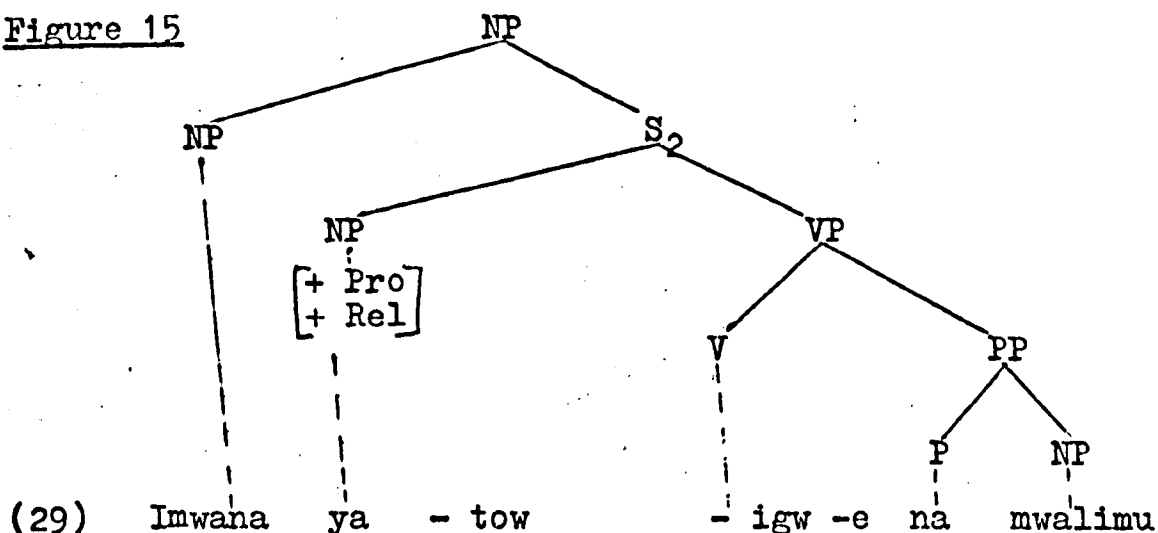
Both in Swahili and in Ki-Luguru the preferred interpretation of such constructions is the subject-Rel-Clause interpretation, i.e. 'The child who hit

the teacher'. I should hasten to add that both Ki-Luguru and Swahili speakers will studiously avoid using this construction with an object relative clause interpretation in mind. In this case, the passive construction is preferred. Presumably then, the sentence to be embedded is first transformed into passive and then embedded as a subject relative clause. Thus (25)b would be converted into (28) before relativisation.

- (28) Imwana ka-tow-igwa na mwalimu  
 Child SC-Past-hit-Passive by teacher  
 The child was hit by the teacher.

Instead of the sentence in Figure 14 we should turn up with that of Figure 15, which is unambiguous and sounds infinitely better than the former:

Figure 15



The Swahili sentence above would likewise be converted into:

- (30) Mtoto a-li-ye-pig-wa na mwalimu

(IV) Direct Object in a SVOC Structure:

- (a) Non-animate Object:

Subject post-position has the effect of placing

the indirect object and the subject NPs next to each other. Since both nouns are often + animate, ambiguity is bound to arise concerning the assignment of functions. To avoid this it is customary to dislocate one of the two nominals, preferably the indirect object, by moving it to sentence initial position:

(31)a. Icitabu ci-aga  
The book is lost

b. Mwalimu ka-mu-ina imwana icitabu  
The teacher SC-Past-OC-give child book  
The teacher gave the book to the child.

(32) \*Icitabu ci-(mu)-in-ile imwana mwalimu  
Book RP-OC-Perf child teacher

(33) Imwana icitabu ci-mu-in-ile mwalimu  
Child book RP-OC-give-Perf teacher

= The book which the teacher gave to the child.

(34) Mwalimu, icitabu ci-a-(mu)-in-ile imwana  
Teacher book RP-he-OC-give-Perf child

The unacceptability of (32) is due to the consecutive occurrence of the indirect object and subject NPs, as is confirmed by the acceptability of (33) and (34). Notice in (34) the emergence of the subject marker between the RP and the OC.

(b) Animate Objects:

Here, to avoid the potential ambiguity created by subject postposition, the passive construction is employed. However, it is not the direct object that is the subject of the passive verb but the indirect object:

(35)a. Inuku ka-aga  
The hen is-lost

- (35)b. Mwalimu ka-mu-iya imwana iyuku  
The teacher gave the child a hen

Because of what was said in the previous paragraph regarding the consecutive occurrence of IO and subject NP, we would expect relativising (35)b to produce something like (36):

- (36) Imwana, iyuku ya-mu-iy-ile mwalimu  
child hen RP-OC-give-Perf teacher

But (36) is ambiguous; it could mean either:

The hen which the teacher gave to the child  
or The hen which the child gave to the teacher.

Hence the passive construction, (37), to avoid ambiguities of this kind.

- (37) Imwana, iyuku ya-a-iy-igw-e na mwalimu  
child hen RP-he-give-Pass-Perf by teacher  
The hen which the child was given by the teacher.

### 6.3 Indirect Object Relativisation

Passivisation of the sentence to be embedded is a prior condition for relativisation of an NP in IO position. The resultant relative clause will inevitably be a subject relative clause because passivisation must choose as surface subject the indirect object NP, since the direct object in a SVOO structure is never passivised in Ki-Luguru.

- (38)a. Imwana ka-gua  
The child fell

- b<sub>1</sub>. Mwalimu ka-mu-iya imwana icitabu  
The teacher gave the book to the child

- b<sub>2</sub>. Passive:

Imwana ka-iy-igwa icitabu na mwalimu.



Note: In ordinary speech the passive version of (38)b would sound stilted if it occurred independently. It is, however, perfectly smooth and acceptable in embedded position. The passive construction thus appears to be a last resort measure to avoid ambiguity.

- (39) Imwana ya-in-igw-e icitabu na mwalimu  
 Child RP-give-Pass-Perf book by teacher

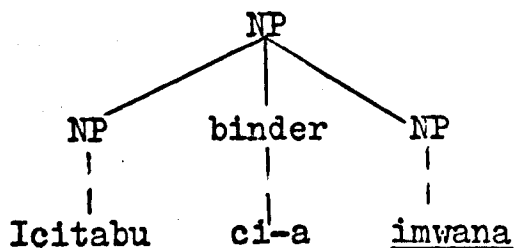
The child who was given the book by the teacher.  
 =The child whom the teacher gave the book to.

#### 6.4 Relativisation of Genitive NP:

We mentioned earlier, in connection with RP movement that because of the complex -NP constraint, certain NPs meeting the co-referentiality condition, cannot all the same undergo relativisation without prior modification of the complex NP. The genitive NP is one such NP which gets stranded until a side-track is adopted. Consider (40)a and b.

- (40)a. Imwana ka-o-lila  
 The child is crying
- b. Icitabu cia imwana ci-aga  
 Book of child is-lost  
 The child's book is lost.

The underlined nouns are coreferential indeed. But the second NP belongs to a complex unit centred round the possessive binder:



The only way out of the abyss is by converting the

complex NP structure into a possessive sentence, which is easily done. As a result there will be three instead of two underlying strings, viz:

- a. Imwana ka-o-lila (= Child is crying)
  - b. Imwana kana citabu (= Child has a book)
  - c. Icitabu ci-aga (= Book is lost)
- (41) Imwana [ya-na icitabu [ci-ag-ile]] ka-o-lila  
 Child RP-have book RP-lose-Perf SC-Pres-cry

The child who has the book that is lost is crying.  
 = The child whose book is lost is crying.

Notice that both embedded clauses are subject relative clauses. The limit of the number of such successive subject clauses will depend on the number of genitives that can be tolerated by speakers. Theoretically there is no limit.

It will be recalled that the possessive construction is a subset of the appertentive construction. The latter is a construction which neutralizes a variety of semantic relationships. The possessive, however, specifically refers to the semantic character of 'possession'. Other semantic relationships subsumed under 'appertentive' cannot be transformed into a 'have' sentence. Hence for them relativisation is impossible.

## 6.5 Relativisation of Oblique Object:

### (a) Associative Object:

The relativisation proceeds in the same way as in object relative clause formation. The main difference

shows up only at the shadow pronoun deletion stage. In oblique-object relativisation the shadow pronoun is never deleted but is phonologically spelt out first and then attached to the preposition as a clitic. Thus, (42)b embedded in (42)a will produce something like Figure 16.

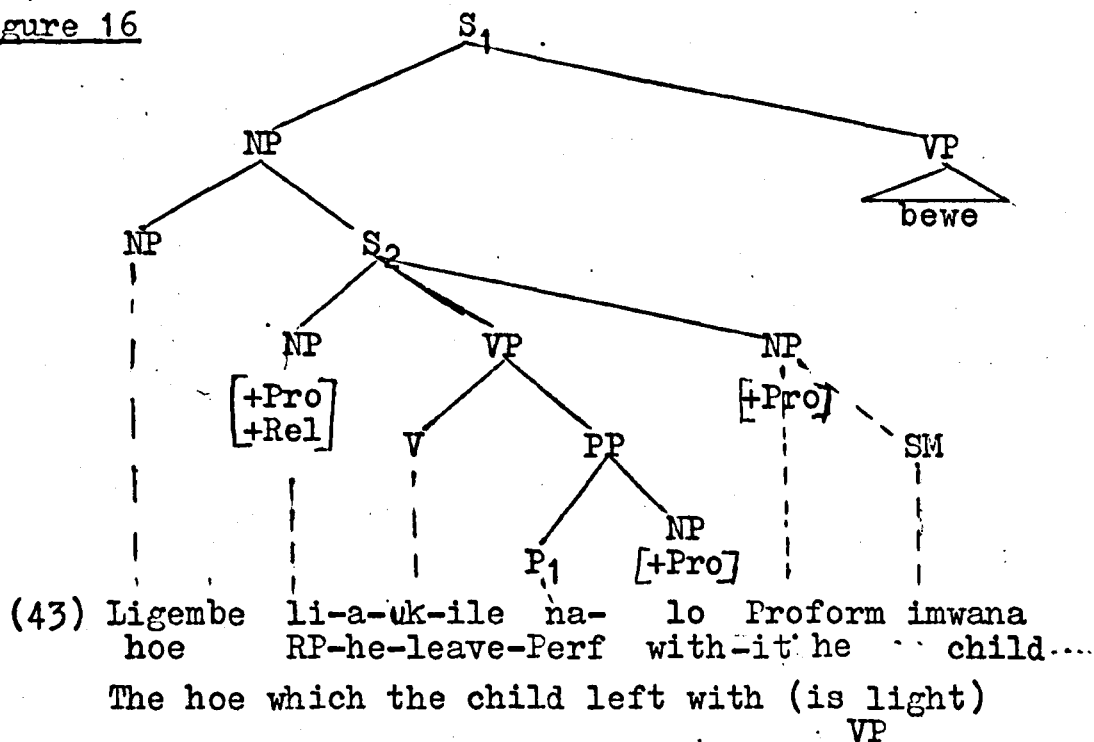
(42)a Ligembe bewe

(=The hoe is light)

b Imwana kauka na ligembe

(The child left with the hoe)

Figure 16



There are three things worth noting in this construction:

- (i) Whenever the shadow pronoun is phonologically spelt, the subject NP of the embedded sentence, which is obligatorily postposed, is also topicalised automatically. As a result, the subject marker emerges between the RP and the verb stem as in (43) above.
- (ii) It is possible to delete the shadow pronoun and

attach the preposition to the postposed subject NP as in (44):

- (44) Ligembe li-uk-ile na imwana  
      hoe       RP-leave-Perf with child  
      = The hoe which the child left with

It should be pointed out, however, that (44) is open to a subject relative clause interpretation. "The hoe which left with the child" would be the literal translation of such an interpretation. The only reason why people do not give it this latter interpretation is their knowledge of hierarchy between nouns. The + Animate noun is ranked higher and always given a subject interpretation in a configuration unless all the odds are against it. This is possibly at the basis of all those surface structures which, through history of derivation, have come to assume a form that defies the rules of elementary logic; such as the permuted sentences. I feel tempted here to extend to transformations what has often been said about evolution within a language - namely that "Changes are never adopted at the cost of mutual intelligibility".

(iii) Sentences like (43) provide strong support in favour of Perlmutter's shadow pronoun hypothesis.

Basically, Perlmutter's hypothesis is this:

"Relative movement is not a chopping rule but a copying rule that leaves behind a pronominal copy of the moved constituent" (Chicago Which Hunt, p.74).

The pronominal copies left behind he calls shadow pronouns. The widespread assumption has hitherto been that when the RP or relativised NP moves to a position adjacent to the headnoun, it leaves behind nothing but an empty slot. If this view were adopted here we would have to find an ad hoc way of explaining why a pronoun is left behind whenever the NP to be moved is a sister constituent of a preposition or associative particle, like in (43). We will also see later that if the RP is transformationally deleted, the shadow pronoun must also be deleted simultaneously. On the evidence of (44) however, this rule does not work the other way round. The shadow pronoun can transformationally be deleted while the RP remains. Consider (43) in relation to (44).

The cost of adopting the shadow pronoun hypothesis is to postulate a shadow pronoun deletion rule for every relative pronoun whose shadow pronoun never receives a phonological spelling in surface structure. I think this is a worthwhile price to pay because relative pronoun movement, it seems to me, resembles topicalisation. It appears to be a normal thing for a topicalised NP to leave at its ordinary position in structure some sort of proform, which may or may not be spelt out in surface structure. Animate nouns almost always leave a proform that is marked in surface structure. In object relative movement the NP moves from post-

verbal position, its home-base, to pre-subject position. This is a significant leap. Significantly, they also have one other important feature in common too: they can all have the RP deleted under identical conditions.

Since we have used Swahili examples earlier, we might mention here that in Swahili the surface marking of the shadow pronoun is semi-obligatory, even with inanimate nouns, in the affixal pattern of relativisation:

(45) Kiti a-li-cho- ki - vunja mtoto  
Chair SC-Past-RP- break child  
The chair which the child broke

(46) Kiti a-li-cho- ~~ki~~ -vunja mtoto  
Chair SC-Past-RP- break child

(45) is preferred to (46) although I would hesitate to rule against (46). However, the point we are trying to make is that in (45), both the RP and the shadow pronoun appear side by side within the same verb. They both refer to the same object. The appearance of -ki- shadow pronoun, can only be explained in terms of the RP movement because it is not normally found in other constructions such as (47):

(47) Mtoto ame-vunja kiti  
Child SC-Past-RP- break chair

(48)\*Mtoto ame -ki-vunja kiti  
Child SC-Past-it-break chair

#### (b) Instrumental Objects:

1. What was said of associative objects holds also for instrumental object relativisation, except for the optional transformation which deletes the shadow pronoun. The shadow pronoun here may not be deleted

so long as the RP is still in place. This shadow pronoun can only be deleted along with the relative pronoun itself.

- (49) Isindano i-a-ku-tung -ile na-io ai  
 Needle RP-he-you-prick-Perf with-it is this  
 The needle with which he pricked you is this
- (50) Inzila i-u-z-ile na-io ai  
 Road RP-you-come-Perf by-it is this  
 The road you came by is this

In (50) the prepositional object expresses medium rather than instrument. There is no simple way of making this fine distinction systematically. Instrument is probably a subset of medium in some systems of causality relationships. From the point of view of syntax, the (50) type of relation does not accept the relativisation strategy explained in the next paragraph.

2. A more frequent strategy of instrumental object relativisation involves an internal transformation of the verb so that it incorporates the semantic features of instrumentality expressed by the preposition. The preposition is dropped and the NP stands in an ordinary type of object relationship to the extended verb, obeying the same rules of relativisation as the direct object. The verbal transformation involved is usually referred to as derivational extension - which consists in suffixing a special morpheme to the verbal stem. -Il- is the usual morpheme for instrumental verbal extension:

- e.g. (51) Isindano i-a-ku-tung-iil-ile ai  
 Needle RP-he-you-prick-with-Perf this  
 The needle with which he pricked you is this
- (52) Libwe li-a-tul-iil -ile iciya imwana ali  
 Stone RR-he-break-with Perf pot child this  
 The stone with which the child broke the pot is this

#### 6.6. Sloppy Identity:

Adverbial clauses of time, place, manner and reason have a structure that is in many ways similar to that of a relative clause and behave like object relative clauses in certain syntactic environments, (see below: Constituent questions). The structural similarity is manifested in two ways: First, they all begin with something like a relative pronoun (which can be deleted under almost identical conditions with those determining object relative pronoun deletions). Secondly, these RP's are also attached to non-absolute verbal forms.

e.g. Time: ha -tu -uy -ile  
 RP we return -Perf  
 When we returned

Place: ha -tu--kal -ile  
 RP -we -sit -Perf  
 Where we sat

Manner: Vi -u -long -ile  
 RP -you-say -Perf  
 As you said

Reason: Vi -a -lem -ile ukusoma  
 RP -he -refuse -Perf to read  
 Because he refused to read

These relative clause-like structures differ from other relative clauses only in so far as they do not have an overt lexical headnoun, except the adverbial of



place. The big question is: Should they be treated as a species of relative clauses? If so, how will the notion of coreferentiality be defined since there is no overt NP in the matrix sentence to which they can be related?

Sloppy Identity is the phrase which has been invented to describe coreferentiality problems of a similar nature in English. I adopt the phrase as a useful label for the sort of problem raised by the examples given above. It seems to me that there does exist some kind of cross-reference between the matrix sentence and adverbial clauses. It is, however, doubtful whether this kind of cross-reference can be expressed in terms of two underlying coreferential NPs as is commonly understood in transformational grammar.

Perhaps one could say that these structures suggest the existence of some highly abstract NPs underlying every utterable sentence, in as much as every sentence is a creative activity which takes place in time, in a particular way and for a particular reason. The speaker then, is at liberty to activate these latent NPs in the form of adverbial clauses whenever two sentences share the same particularity of time, place, manner or reason. Could these be universal NPs?

In the light of these relative-like adverbial clause structures, I find R. Jackendoff's comments about coreference very encouraging. Jackendoff, in his thesis,<sup>11</sup> makes three points:

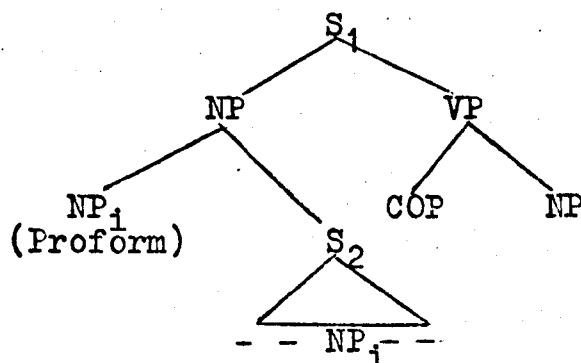
- (a) Co-reference is an exclusively semantic property that cannot be referred to by transformations.
- (b) Co-reference is an aspect of semantic interpretation that has nothing to do with the structure of the sentence (although the structure does play an important part in establishing it).
- (c) Co-referentiality is to be conceived of as a binary relation holding between two NPs (or their semantic readings).

But such a semantic notion of co-reference is bound to lead to a sense of powerlessness in syntax, since semantic notions are intractable and often difficult to formulate adequately.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: PSEUDO-CLEFTS

Pseudo-cleft is the term used to refer to those sentence constructions whose surface structure configuration consists of a relative clause (with generic antecedent) as SUBJECT and a copula plus nominal as PREDICATE, as shown in Figure 17.

Figure 17.



- e.g. (1) Ya-tul-ile iciya ~~copula~~ imwana  
 RP-break-Perf pot (COP) child  
 The one who broke the pot is the child
- (2) Ci-tul -ile imwana ~~copula~~ iciya  
 RP-break-Perf child (COP) pot  
 What the child broke is the pot

Two things are worth noting here:

- (i) In pseudo-clefts as well as clefts the copula is never phonologically spelt out in Ki-Luguru, except when such a sentence is embedded as a conditional clause, as in (3):

- (3) U-mu-guz-e ana ni imwana ya-tul -ile iciya  
 You-him-ask if is the child RP-break-perf pot  
 Ask him if it is the child who broke the pot

Note that a pseudo-cleft must be transformed into a cleft sentence before being properly embedded as a conditional clause. The reason is that the subordinator 'ana' must immediately be followed by a verb (see also

Part Three).

In some grammatical operations to be discussed in subsequent sections we will need to postulate something like copula deletion. Since the copula is not phonologically spelt it may be difficult to prove beyond all reasonable doubt the correctness of such a postulate.

As a practical solution we will rely on evidence from other Bantu languages with a phonologically spelt copula in similar environments. We will also seek some support from other areas of Ki-Luguru syntax such as negation.

(ii) The relative clause in (1) and (2) has no overt antecedent. The reason is simple. The relative pronoun in Ki-Luguru incorporates most of the features of its antecedent in such a way as to be able to function as a substitutive pronoun. This characteristic is shared by all attributive modifiers in Ki-Luguru.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore important to bear this in mind in all discussions relating to the behaviour of relative pronouns in various syntactic positions.

Although there is no overt antecedent in (1) and (2) it is necessary to postulate the pre-existence and subsequent deletion of one. Without postulating the presence of such an antecedent in the underlying structure it is impossible to explain the marking of gender features on the relative pronoun. The choice between *ya* - and *ci* - in (1) and (2) is determined by the speaker's knowledge of the gender characteristics of the antecedent. One must therefore assume that the antecedents of relative clauses that function as subject in a pseudo-cleft sentence

are nominals of a generic type like thing, person, place etc., and that these are deleted in the course of derivation by a kind of headnoun deletion transformation.<sup>12</sup> One interesting feature of such generic nominals in Ki-luguru is that they all have the same or a similar stem -nu.

Thus:	English	Ki-luguru	:
	Some-person	= Mu - nu	(Gender 1/2)
	Some-thing	= Ci - nu	(Gender 7/8)
	Some-place	= (Ku)-nu (ha)	(Gender 15/16)

Whether this is a case of mere coincidence or of a phonological reflection of some shared semantic feature is not clear to me at the moment.

Pseudo-clefting is generally interpreted as a process associated with the idea of converting an emphasized member of a sentence into a logical predicate. Thus from the logical point of view it is plausible to regard pseudo-clefting as a post-transformational phenomenon in so far as it operates on an already perfectly well-formed sentence by representing it in a logical framework of subject and predicate, with the inevitable effect of giving prominence to the predicate at the expense of the rest of the structure. The process itself involves basically two operations:

(i) Selection and placement of predicate accompanied by the logical 'be';

(ii) Nominalization of the rest of the sentence so as to make it the subject of the pseudo-cleft sentence.

Some current formulations of pseudo-clefting have in various ways attempted to provide a formal way of relating pseudo-cleft sentences to their non-clefted counterparts. Before looking at some of these formulations I would like to comment briefly on two other constructions which appear to be closely related to pseudo-clefts, namely cleft and stress-focus sentences.

### 7.1 Cleft Sentences.

In Ki-Luguru cleft sentences can be derived from the pseudo-cleft structure of Figure 17 by the process of predicate nominal fronting or by relative clause extraposition. Thus (1) and (2) can be converted to (4) and (5) respectively:

- (4) Imwana ya-tul-ile iciya  
Child RP-break-Perf pot  
(It is) the child who broke the pot
- (5) Iciya ci-tul-ile imwana  
Pot RP -break-Perf child  
(It is) the pot that the child broke

The fronted nominal receives nuclear stress, which is the phonetic realization of predicativeness. That there is a latent copula in (4) and (5) can be assumed on the basis of evidence from other Bantu languages such as Swahili:

e.g. (6) Ni mimi (a) - li - ye - ku - eleza  
 (ni)  
 is me he - Past - you - tell  
 It is me who told you.

(6) is presumably derived from (7) in which the copula *ni* is also phonologically spelt.

- (7) A - li - ye - ku - eleza ni mimi  
He- ~~Past~~ - RP - you tell is me  
The one who told you is me

It can also be demonstrated from Ki-Luguru that the predicate nominal is preceded by a latent copula. The latent copula seems to emerge under the influence of the negative transformation as can be seen in (8):

- (8) Ya - tul -ile iciya si imwana baye  
 RP -break-Perf pot not child no

The one who broke the pot is not the child

Thus the predicate nominal is preceded by the negative copula 'si'. (For the role of the second negative marker 'baye' at the end of the sentence, see Part Three). In deriving a cleft sentence from (8) the negative copula retains its pre-nominal position as in (9):

- (9) Si imwana baye ya - tul - ile iciya  
 is-not child no RP - break - Perf pot.

It is not the child who broke the pot

Postulating a latent copula before the first nominal in (4) and (5) is therefore a syntactically viable proposition. It is doubtful, however, whether one should also postulate the presence of a dummy subject. The use of 'it' as a dummy subject is a feature peculiar to English and perhaps other European languages. Nothing of the kind is attested in Ki-Luguru.

## 7.2 Stress-focused Sentences:

The stress-focussed sentence differs from both cleft-sentences and pseudo-clefts in that it does not contain a relative clause in surface structure. It resembles clefts and pseudo-clefts in that it has one of its constituents contrastively marked. In English any major element within a sentence can be contrastively marked by stress.

Thus:

(10) The CHILD broke the pot (Subject Focus)  
(It is the child who broke the pot)

(11) The child BROKE the pot (Verb focus)

(12) The child broke the POT (Object focus)

Stress focus<sup>13</sup> in Ki-Luguru is restricted to the element or constituent in immediate post-verbal position. Thus both (13) and (14) are unacceptable but (15) is acceptable:

(13) \*IMWANA ka - tul - a iciya  
Child PAST - break pot

(14) \*Imwana KA - TUL - A iciya  
Child PAST - ~~break~~ pot

(15) Imwana ka - tul - a ICIYA (Object focus)  
The child broke the ~~POT~~

If the verb is to be stress-focused it must be placed in the final position as in (16):

(16) Imwana iciya KA - TUL-A (Verb focus)  
Child pot PAST - break  
The child BROKE the pot

This option of final position is not normally open to the subject nominal. Only nominals under the predicate-phrase node can be contrastively stressed PROVIDED that they are placed immediately after the verb. Thus both (17) and (18) are unacceptable because the constituents to be stressed are not in immediate post-verbal position:

(17) \*Mwalimu ka - mu - iya imwana ICIYA  
Teacher PAST - OC - give child pot

(18) \*Imwana ka-tul - a iciya NA LI<sup>I</sup>BWE  
Child PAST - break pot with stone

In order to place the focus constituent in immediate post-verbal position it is necessary to move all intermediate



constituents to pre-verbal position.

- (19) Mwalimu imwana ka - mu - iya ICIYA  
 Teacher child PAST-OC-give pot  
 The teacher gave to the child the POT
- (2) Imwana iciya ka - tul - a NA LIBWE  
 Child pot PAST-break with a stone  
 The child broke the pot with a STONE

It is thus curious why a constituent in immediate post-verbal position should be the only possible recipient of stress-focus. I believe that this phenomenon is closely allied to the question of pseudo-clefting and to optional and semi-optional transformations that can be applied to pseudo-cleft sentences in Ki-Luguru. Specifically, I would suggest that the element receiving a stress-focus is, in fact, a predicate nominal in disguise. My contention will be that the stress-focus structure can be shown to be transformationally derived from the pseudo-cleft structure through relative pronoun and copula deletion.

Postal (1971) argued that even in English stress-focus constructions can be shown to be derived from clefts by a rule, he calls contrast movement, which has the effect of placing an NP of the matrix sentence in a lower position. Although Postal did not pursue the proposal vigorously he put forward sufficient statements and illustrations for us to be able to discern his line of thought. The following are some of his examples followed by the conclusions he draws from them: (his numbers)

- (18) Who did Charley insult.
- (19) Charley insulted his father

(20) Charley insulted his FATHER

(21) The one that Charley insulted was his FATHER

Postal maintains that (19) does not constitute an adequate answer to (18) because whereas (19) contains a focus (18) does not. But both (20) and (21) are adequate answers to (18). From this he makes the following observations and suggestions:

"The natural suggestion is that, from a deep structure point of view a structure like (21) is the obligatory answer form and that answers like (20) are derivatives from the predication answers by way of a rule, let us call it contrast movement, which optionally deforms the predicate nominal construction into one whose surface structure is that of ordinary non-predicational clauses" (p.234.).

English is not the best language for illustrating the plausibility of Postal's proposal. But languages that use different verbal-forms for absolute and relative clauses, such as Ki-Luguru, might provide evidence in support of Postal's hypothesis. Under 'Question and Answer' types below we hope to show that this hypothesis, *mutatis mutandis*, is a useful tool for analysing and understanding certain sentence-types in Ki-Luguru.

### 7.3 Current Formulations of Pseudo-Clefts:

Current hypotheses purporting to establish the underlying structure of pseudo-cleft or clefts vary enormously. Each hypothesis begins by rejecting all the previous hypotheses as inadequate or open to serious objections of

one kind or another. The various approaches can best be described by asking what analysis each would give to the following sentences:

- (21) Imwana ka-tul-a iciya  
child FAST - break pot  
The child broke the pot
- (22) Ya - tul - ile iciya imwana  
RP -break- PERF pot COP child  
The one who broke the pot is the child
- (23) Ci - tul - ile imwana iciya  
RP -break-Perf child COP pot  
The thing that the child broke is the pot

It is generally agreed that the selectional restrictions holding between the elements in (21) (22) and (23) are not different. However, it is argued by some that this fact alone is not sufficient to warrant postulating a unitary derivation for the three sentences. We therefore have the first major division of camps between those who advocate a unitary derivation and those who advocate a binary derivation in which (22) and (23) form a cluster apart from (21).

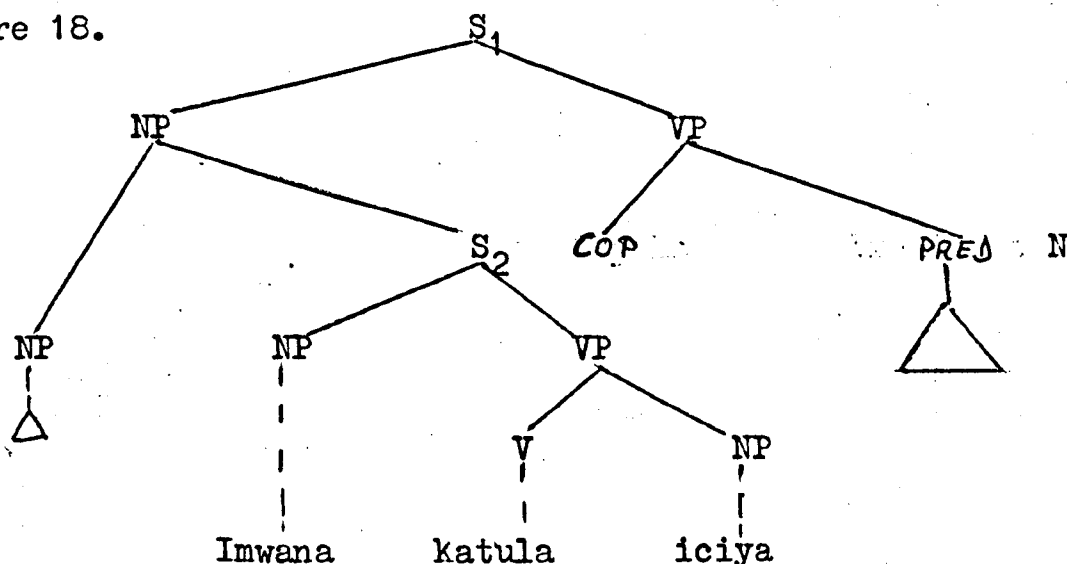
Within both camps there are divisions based on disagreements regarding the precise manner in which the respective underlying structures are to be formulated in order to account adequately for all the various syntactic (and perhaps semantic) peculiarities associated with such sentences in actual communication. It is not my intention to go into a lengthy discussion of each of the proposals made by people in either camp. Most of the proposals I know of offer only a sketchy argument. Nevertheless I will attempt to make a summary statement of some of the major positions taken and comment briefly on the possible relevance they might have for the

central issue of my study.

### 7.3.1 Unitary Derivation:

(a) The extracting-hypothesis: In 1968 Bach and Peters circulated a paper in which they proposed to derive pseudo-clefts from the same underlying structure as the corresponding un-clefted construction. Pseudo-clefts are then obtained by extracting an NP from its position in the unclefted structure and making it the 'logical' predicate of a transformationally created subject.<sup>14</sup> In schematic form the proposal can be represented as in Figure 18.

Figure 18.



Which NP is ultimately extracted will depend on further instructions to be provided either by the transformational component in the form of subject focus transformation or object-focus transformation, or by marking 'Focus' alongside the NP to be focused in deep structure, much in the same way as WH- is marked alongside the constituent to be questioned in Katz and Postal (1964). The latter option is objectionable on the grounds that it would create a deep structure that is totally different from the one that

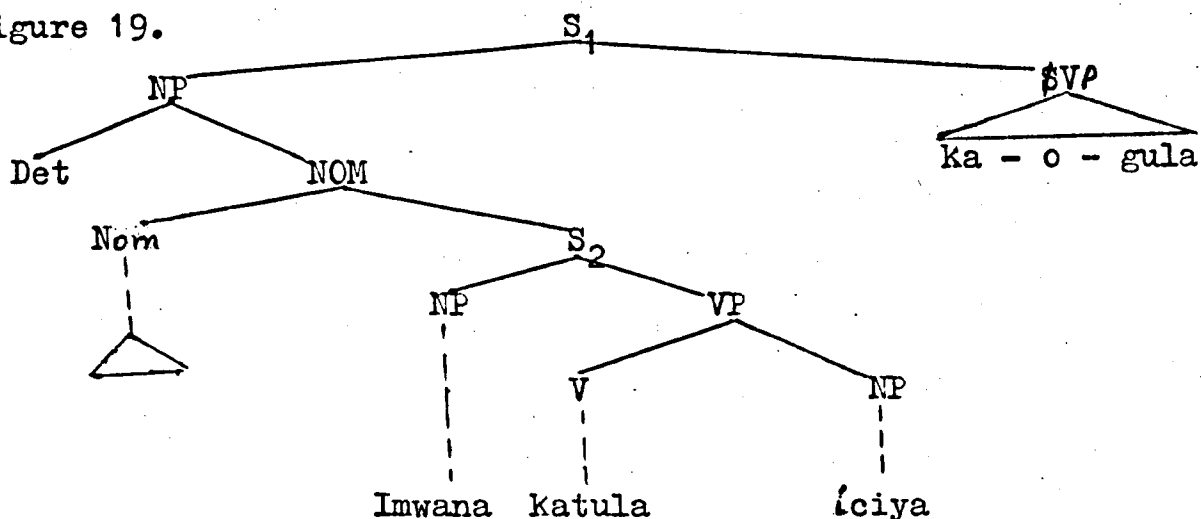
underlies (21). It is therefore better to stick to a transformationally introduced change from non-cleft to cleft construction.

The logical basis of this hypothesis is intuitively satisfying. But the grammatical implications are worrying because one does not know where the COPULA comes from in the first place. Secondly, once the NP marked for focus is extracted, what happens to the rest of the sentence? We know that the rest of the sentence ends up as a relative clause in surface structure. But what precisely is the nature of the mechanism responsible for this extraordinary change?

A similar hypothesis has been echoed by Schachter (1973) though in a slightly different context and tending more to binary derivation. Schachter's central hypothesis concerns the fundamental question of the mode of relative clause formation. He argues that relativisation should not be conceived of as a process of 'matching' two identical NPs of two sentences one of which is subordinated to the NP of the other sentence. Rather, relativisation should be viewed as a promotion process whereby an NP from a low sentence is raised to an empty slot in a higher sentence. Thus sentence (24) would be represented in tree-format by figure 19.

- (24) Imwana ya -tul - ile iciya ka - o - gula  
 Child RP - break-Perf pot is sick  
 The child who broke the pot is sick

Figure 19.



Given this configuration in deep structure, one NP under S2, (in the case of (24) the subject NP), after all the necessary transformations within S2 have been applied, is promoted to occupy the dummy position under NOM, leaving behind it a pro-form. This pro-form is automatically marked as the relative pro-form and will trigger off all the necessary adjustments required for relativisation. Schachter's basic philosophy of relativisation is expressed in the following passage:

"Relativisation is a process by means of which an unlimited number of sentences can be turned into nouns ---- under relativisation, the underlying sentential material is divided into two parts which assume different roles in the resultant construction. One of these parts, a noun (or a pronoun) assumes the role of head in the resultant construction; the other part, the remainder of the underlying sentence, assumes (in the form of a relative clause) the role of attribute"(p.43 ).

Schachter's concept of relativisation can help to clarify some of the obscure points of the extraction hypothesis

of pseudo-clefting. It could be argued for example that after extracting the relevant NP and making it the logical predicate of the emerging sentence, a pro-form is left behind which is subsequently promoted to a dummy slot in the subject position of the emerging sentence. Figures 20-22 represent the three phases of change from which a pseudo-cleft sentence would emerge:

Figure 20.

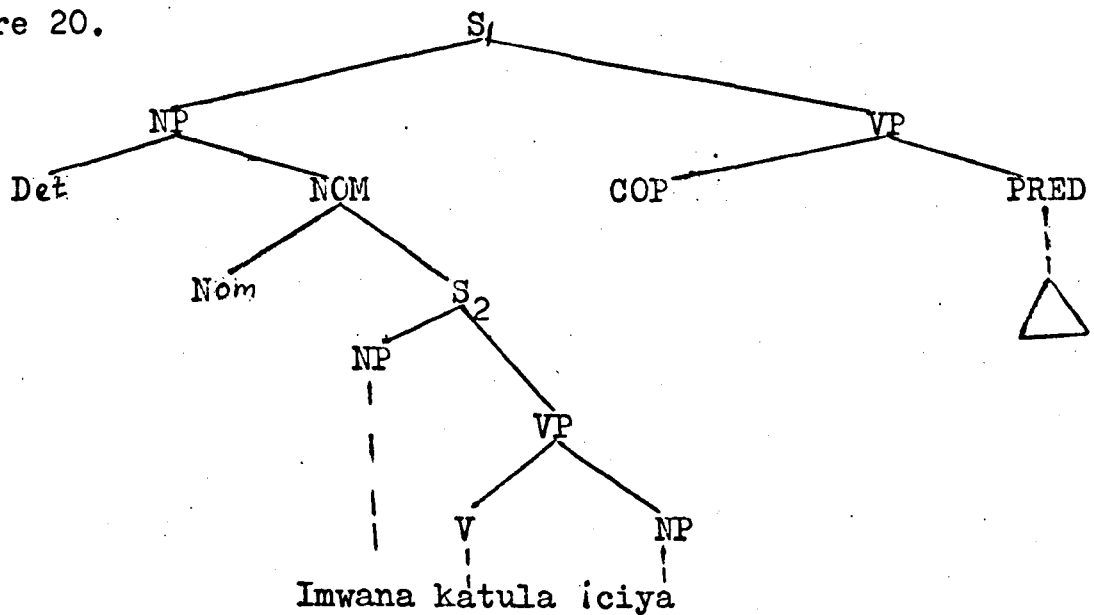


Figure 21.

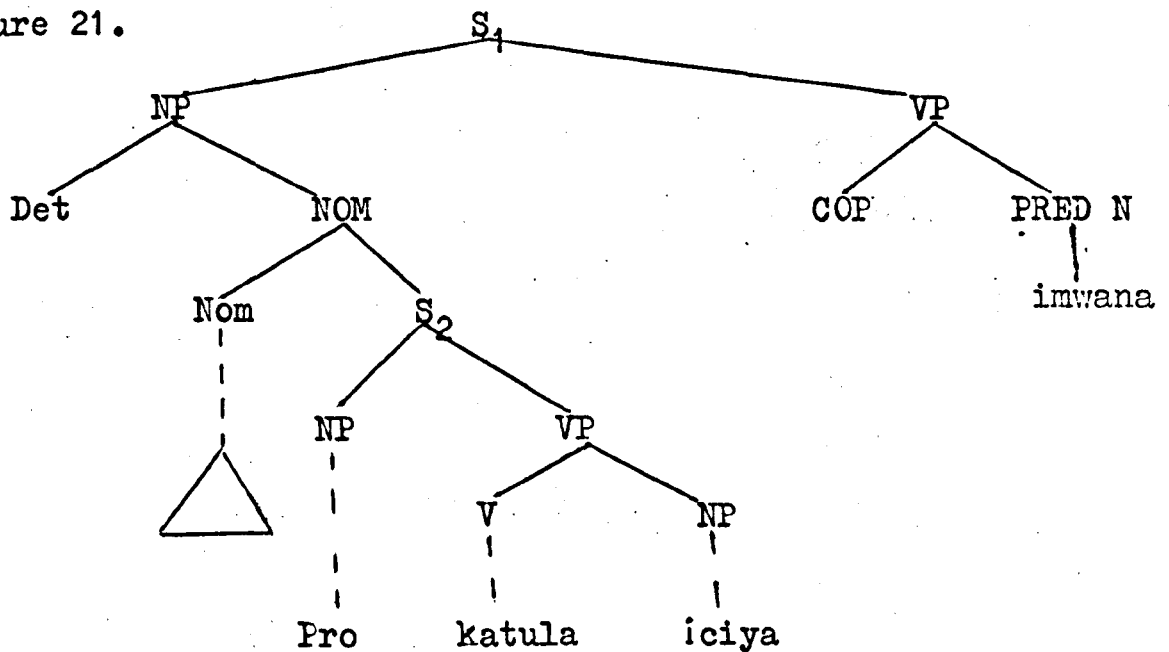
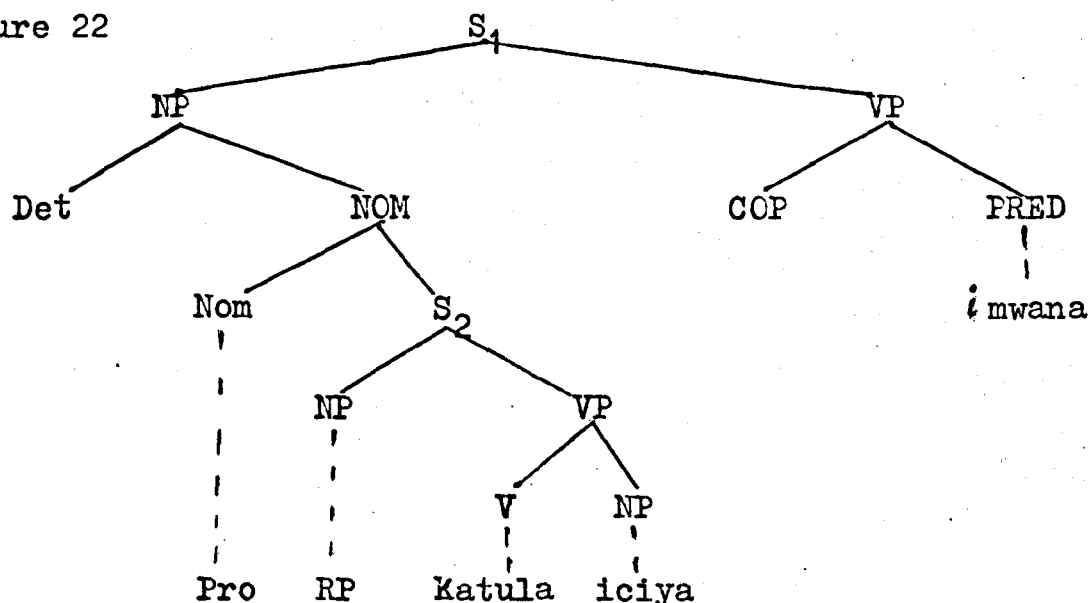


Figure 22



When all the subsequent rules of relativisation have applied, such as relative pronoun attachment and verb adjustment etc., the resultant sentence from figure 22 will be sentence (22):

- (22) Ya-tul- ile iciya : imwana  
The one who broke the pot is the child

One of the great advantages of the promotion hypothesis over many other hypotheses of pseudo-clefting is its ability to explain the possibility of having a 'reflexive focus'. According to this theory reflexivisation takes place within S2 before the reflexive is extracted or promoted. With reference to Ki-Luguru 'reflexive focus' seems to work well within the extraction analysis. Consider the following English sentences and their Ki-Luguru counterpart:

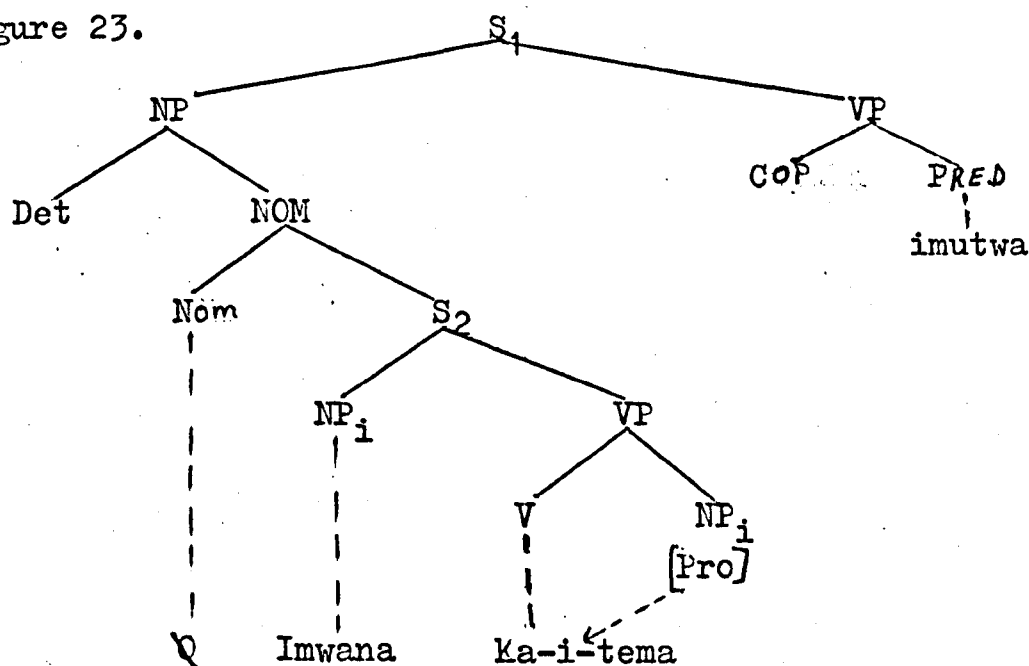
- |      |                            |                   |
|------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| (25) | The child cut himself      | (Neutral)         |
| (26) | Imwana ka-i-tema           | (Neutral)         |
|      | Child SC-self-cut          |                   |
| (27) | The child cut himSELF      | (Reflexive focus) |
| (28) | Imwana ka-i-tema imutwa    | (Reflexive focus) |
|      | Child SC-self-cut himself. |                   |

Observe the difference between (26) and (28). The former contains within the verb a reflexive object affix.



The latter has in addition an independent reflexive pronoun carrying contrastive stress. I suspect that the latter construction results from extraction of the reflexive which leaves behind a pro-form that is attracted into the verb before relativisation by promotion could take place. A reflexive cannot be relativised on in Ki-Luguru. Thus the origin of (28) could be something like Figure 23.

Figure 23.



It is by no means clear that Figure 23 reflects the true picture of what happens in reflexive focussing.

The reflexive construction in Ki-Luguru has many peculiarities that are quite obscure to me at the moment. The only thing I can say with any confidence at this stage is that 'mutwa' always represents reflexive focus.

Apart from its ability to handle reflexive focus satisfactorily, the promotion hypothesis appears to provide little comfort to anybody who wishes to understand how the NP to be promoted is to be determined in the first place.

Given Configuration 20 above, one cannot tell which NP under S2 must be promoted. If the subject NP is promoted the resultant construction will be sentence (1), if the object NP is promoted a sentence like (2) results. The two sentences answer different questions. Hence there is still a need for a mechanism indicating, at some point, which NP is to be promoted.

(b) The Intonation-centre Hypothesis

Another hypothesis of unitary derivation for (21) - (23) is the one suggested by Chomsky (1971). Chomsky does not deal with pseudo-clefts as such but with the general phenomenon of focus and its manifestation in languages. In general Chomsky maintains that the phonological and grammatical manipulations involving focus are a purely surface structure phenomenon. He sees focus as intimately coupled with the notion of presupposition. The former he defines as a 'phrase containing the intonation centre' and the latter as 'an expression derived by replacing the focus with a variable'. As a result of his reflection upon the effect of focus on the interpretation of a sentence, Chomsky proposed to amend the first phrase structure rule in such a way as to incorporate the notions of focus and presupposition as additional conditions for surface structure well-formedness of sentences. He proposes the following rule:

$$S \longrightarrow S^1 \quad F \quad P \quad F = \text{Focus}$$

$$P = \text{Presupposition}$$

F and P according to Chomsky are arbitrary structures and  $S^1$  functions as the initial symbol of the categorical component of the base. A filtering rule 'will require that

the structure thus generated be deemed to be well-formed only if the focus and presupposition as determined from surface structure, are identical with F and P respectively.'.

One of the implications of Chomsky's amended rule is the suggestion that every sentence in language is accompanied by the features of F and P. But this is not true - since one recognises that there is a difference between ordinary and contrastive stress. It is contrastive stress that corresponds to cleft. F and P are therefore features of only particular sentences and not of all sentences as the amended rule seems to suggest.

The crucial question that the extended theory ought to answer or account for is the redistribution of surface structure grammatical functions in clefted sentences as opposed to non-cleft sentences! The unclefted sentence like (21) is a simple sentence. Its clefted counterparts (22) and (23) are complex sentences each containing a matrix S and an embedded S. How does one reconcile the three sentences assuming that they are derived from the same underlying structure?

The problem raised in the last paragraph looks notoriously similar to the question of instrumental prepositional phrases that could be converted into a clause:

- a) He sliced the salami with a knife;
- b) He used a knife to slice the salami.

Since a) and b) share the same grammatical and selectional relations, despite differences of surface structure, Lakoff (1968) proposed that they should be derived from the

same deep structure. Rejecting Lakoff's proposal Chomsky maintains that the two sentences are not identical in deep structure. He adds that the deep structure for the two sentences would nevertheless express the required selectional and grammatical relations in a unified way'(Chomsky 1971, p.196).

If this line of reasoning is adhered to faithfully one would expect Chomsky to make a similar diagnosis of the relationship between (21) and (22/23). But he does not do this. Instead he confesses that the redistribution of elements in surface structure is poorly understood. 'Certain phrases of the surface structure may be marked by grammatical processes of a poorly understood sort' (p.205). I assume that this is said in reference to clefts and pseudo-clefts. In a footnote to the same article Chomsky makes the following remark:

"There is no reason to suppose that a satisfactory characterization of focus and presupposition can be given in purely grammatical terms, but there is little doubt that grammatical structure plays a part in specifying them."

The unitary derivation hypothesis, regardless of how it should be formulated, is highly relevant to our understanding of the synonymy between the permuted and the ordinary construction in Ki-Luguru. The whole purpose of our venture is to show that:

Imwana katula iciya	(Ordinary)
and Iciya citula imwana	(Permuted)

are synonymous, although they are used in different contexts. They are sometimes said to be 'stylistic variants' of the same underlying grammatical relationship. Our task is to try to specify the transformational constraints responsible for the generation of the permuted sentence because it seems to violate some basic rules of 'grammar'.

### 7.3.2 Non-Unitary Derivation

The unitary derivation of pseudo-clefts has come under attack from linguists with a semantic bias of grammatical description. These linguists offer two main arguments against deriving (21), (22) and (23) from the same deep structure.

(i) Sentences (21) - (23) are not logically equivalent because they answer different questions. Therefore they cannot be derived from the same underlying structure. (21) answers question A:

A. What did the child do?

Imwana katula iciya

(22) answers question B:

B. Who broke the pot?

Yatulile iciya imwana

(23) answers question C.

C. What did the child break?

Citulile imwana iciya

(ii) The distribution of sentences (22) and (23) is different from that of (21). The latter has one verb only, while the

former have two verbs each. That the two verbs in (22) and in (23) are different is attested by the fact that either of them can be negated independently of the other as in (29) and (30):

- (29) Ya-tul-ile iciya si imwana baye  
 RP-break-Perf pot COI-Neg child NO.

The one who broke the pot is not the child.

- (30) Ya- ga - tul-ile iciya imwana  
 RP- NEG-break-Perf pot COI child

The one who didn't break the pot is the child.

Because of these and other subsidiary reasons, the semanticists maintain that (22) and (23) should be derived from two underlying sentences one of which is subsequently embedded in the other. There are various subdivisions within this camp. We will mention only two here.

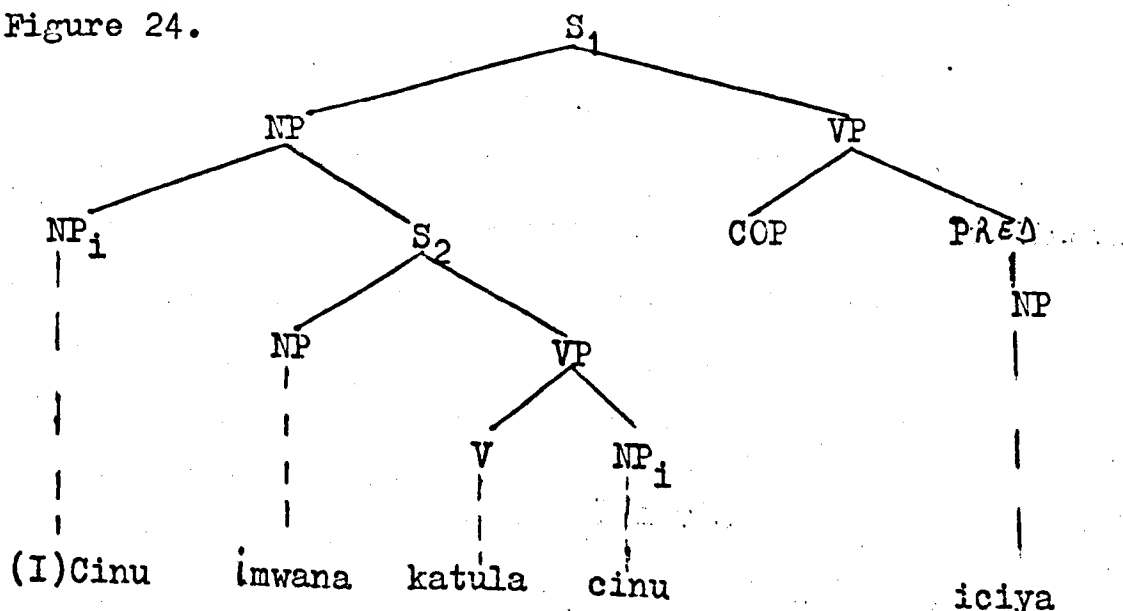
(a) Generic NP - Antecedent Hypothesis.

This hypothesis maintains that pseudo-clefts are derived from two underlying sentences, one of which contains a generic NP which is instantiated in the other sentence.<sup>15</sup> Thus (23) would be derived from (31) and (32) as schematized in Figure 24.

- (31) Imwana ka-tul - a ci - nu  
 The child broke something

- (32) (I)-cinu iciya  
 (The) thing is the pot

Figure 24.



This hypothesis claims that a cleft or pseudo-cleft presupposes the existence of some entity that is appropriately characterized by the relative clause.

(b) The Equational Hypothesis.

Bach, Peters and Ross proposed a derivation in which the pseudo-cleft sentence contains in its deep structure two nearly identical phrase markers. Thus Figure 25 and 26 represent the deep structure of (22) and (23) respectively.

Figure 25.

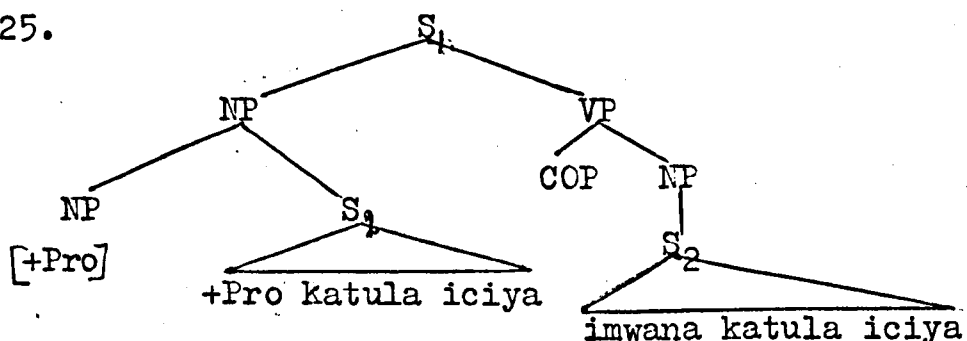
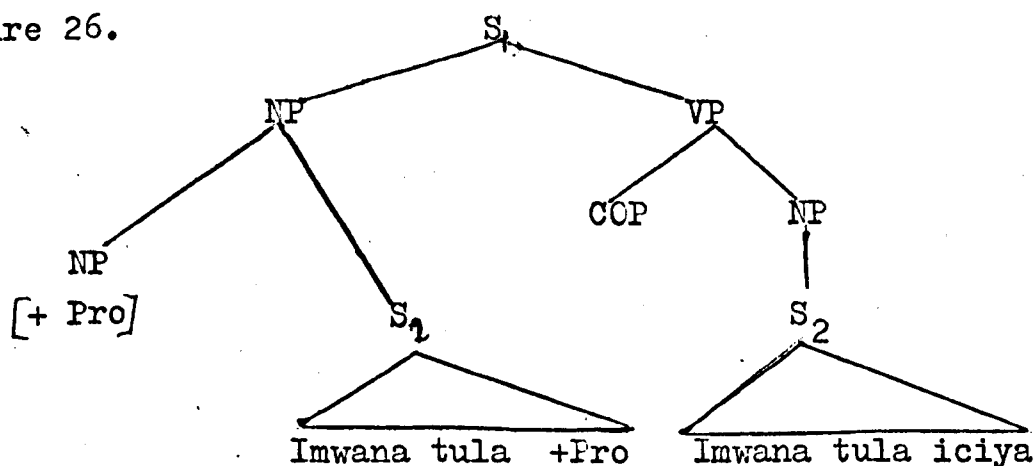


Figure 26.



A filter is postulated by which those elements in S2 that are identical with those of S1 will be deleted. Thus in Figure 25 'Katula iciya' will be deleted, and in Figure 26 'Imwana Katula' will be deleted from S2 leaving only one item under S2. This item will be contrastively stress-marked.

S1 will undergo relativisation in the normal way since it meets the structural conditions for relativisation.

A more abstract and complex version of the equational hypothesis has been suggested by Masa Muraki (1972). The basic principles and assumptions of Muraki's formulation are essentially the same as those underlying Bach-Feters-Ross's proposals. The only slight difference I can see between them is in the fact that Muraki requires the placement of stress as a condition for the subsequent deletion of the identical phrases from S2.

This inexhaustive survey of the various attempts at formulating an appropriate derivation for pseudo-cleft sentences is sufficient to give us an idea of how divided opinion is on the matter.



## CHAPTER EIGHT: CONSTITUENT QUESTIONS

In most languages there are two main categories of questions: those of the Yes/No variety and those involving specific question words. It is the latter type of questions that is the subject matter of the following discussion.

Before 1964 the treatment of questions in transformational generative grammar relied on the assumption that questions should be derived on P-markers that underlie the corresponding declarative sentences. But the assumption that a question and its corresponding declarative have the same sequence of P-markers was seriously challenged by Katz and Postal (1964) on the grounds that questions and declaratives do not have the same meaning. If, therefore, the assumption that transformations do not change meaning were to be preserved it was considered necessary to posit non-identical deep structures for questions and declaratives. It was also thought necessary to represent the deep structure of questions in such a way as to make clear the difference between Yes/No questions and constituent questions. The Q symbol was introduced in deep structure to indicate that the underlying sentence is a question - a paraphrase of the speech act 'REQUEST ANSWER'. The presence of Q at sentence initial position was taken to represent a Yes/No question unless a wh<sub>i</sub>-symbol was also attached to one of the NPs in the sentence string. Wh- was thus used to indicate which particular constituent of a sentence was being questioned. Constituent questions therefore were marked

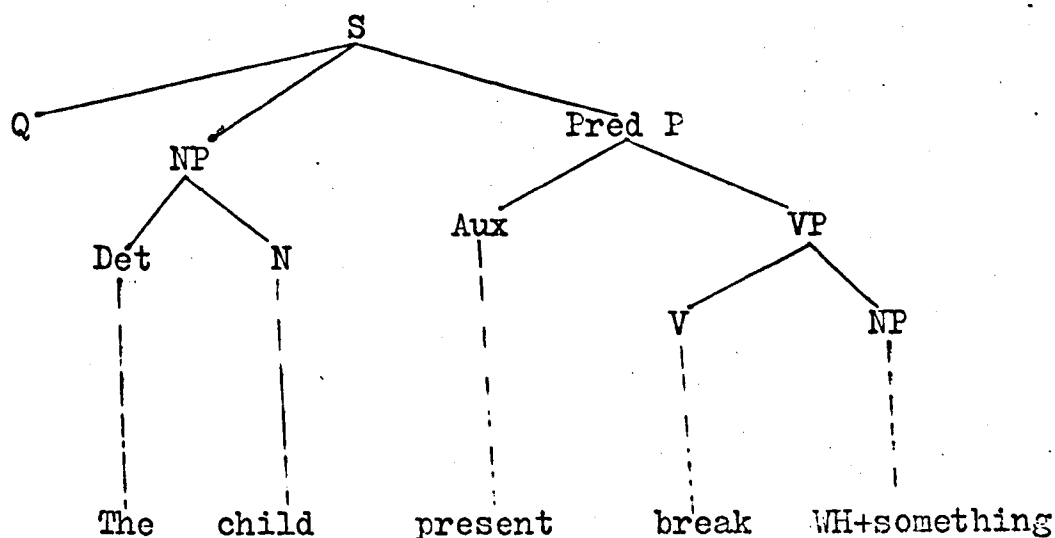
in deep structure by two symbols: Q indicating obligatory question transformation, WH indicating the obligatory transformation of the NP thus marked into an interrogative pronoun.

It will be noted that the NPs to which the symbol WH is attached are pro-forms representing such generic concepts as 'someone, something, someplace, sometime, someday'. The corresponding pronouns in English are: who, what, where, when, how. Each of these pro-forms represents a constituent of a special syntactic type except 'who' and 'what', which are determined not by syntactic features as such but by the feature ( $\pm$  HUMAN). 'Who' and 'what' are usually described as pro-forms for noun phrases. All the rest seem to stand for adverbial constituents.

One of the interesting things to note here is the idea of WH- being attached to generic pro-forms like someone, something, etc. This reminds us of the generic-NP-pseudo-cleft hypothesis in which the existence of an entity determined by generic features is assumed to be the basis of pseudo-clefting. Here too the existence of a generic entity is also grammatically assumed by the use of a pro-form in deep structure. It will presently be shown that the two constructions are in fact syntactically similar in Ki-Luguru.

The formal operations that generate constituent questions in English are fairly simple and straightforward. Thus a question like: "What does the child break?" would be derived from Figure 27 by the application of just a few transformations:

Figure 27.



Details apart, one can produce the surface question form by carrying out the following operations:

- (a) Delete Q and move 'WH something' to the position vacated by Q.
- (b) Move 'Aux' to a position immediately right of the questioned constituent.
- (c) Insert dummy 'do' immediately before AUX constituent dominated by AUX.
- (d) Make the following local transformations:
  - i) do + PRESENT                      does (3rd person sing. only)
  - ii) WH + something                      what

The outcome: What does the child break?

Subject-questioning in English is simpler still because there is no need to move the constituent dominated by AUX, nor is there any need to insert a dummy 'do'.

The formal operations involved in generating a constituent question in Ki-Luguru from a configuration like 27 resembles Rose<sup>n</sup>baum's operations for testing whether or not a particular string is a noun phrase. Rose<sup>n</sup>baum suggests the following operations:

(Rosebaum 1968):

- a) Place 'what' at the beginning of the string.
- b) Place the appropriate form of (BE) at the end of the string.
- c) Select the word or group of words to be tested and transpose to the end of the string.

As a general principle one can do a fairly similar thing with X-Questions in Ki-Luguru:

- a). Delete Q.
- b) Place the WH- constituent at the end of the string.
- c) Place 'Copula' immediately before it.
- d) Convert the remaining structure into a relative clause with a generic antecedent or pro-form similar to the one to which WH- may be attached.
- e) Convert the WH- constituent into the appropriate interrogation pronoun.

Informally stated, the process of constituent question formation in Ki-Luguru requires the conversion of the questioned constituent into a logical predicate and the conversion of the rest of the underlying structure into a relative clause. Thus Figure 28 representing the underlying structure is converted into Figure 29 before the final operations to produce the surface form are applied:

Figure 28.

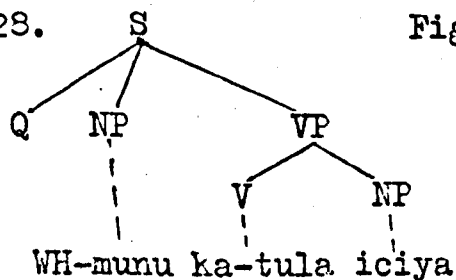
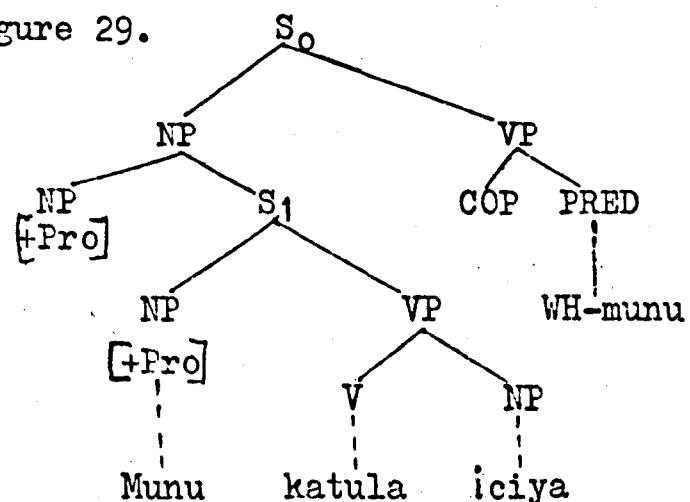


Figure 29.



S1 is subsequently relativised and the Wh-munu constituent is transformed into the appropriate interrogative pronoun. The resultant question is (1):

- (1) Ya-tul-ile iciya ~~ni~~ nani?  
 RP-break-Perf pot COP who

(Lit. The one who broke the pot is who)  
 = Who broke the pot?

It may be pointed out that the promotion hypothesis of relativisation would encounter no difficulties here since the NP to be promoted would be determined by the initial presence of WH-. We assume that the WH-constituent moving to predicate position in a higher sentence leaves behind a pro-form which can subsequently be promoted to antecedent position. This type of approach will obviate the need for trying to account for the presence of two S-strings in ~~deep~~ structure as suggested by the 'matching' theory of relativisation. The matching theory would be counter-intuitive in this context.

### 8.1 Various Types of Constituent Questions:

There are two basic types of constituent questions: one questions an indefinitely marked domain and the other questions a definitely marked domain.

#### a) Indefinite domain:

Within the indefinite domain we can distinguish for the sake of convenience between noun-phrase questions, (with or without 'prepositions') and adverbial questions.

#### (i) Noun phrase questions:

There are two interrogative pronouns used in questions of this type: NANI - (for humans) CI-ONI (for non-humans).

e.g. For the use of NANI:

Subject Q: (2) Ya-andik-e ibalua ~~who~~ nani?  
 RP-write-Perf letter ~~COP~~ who  
 Who wrote the letter?

Object Q: (3) U-tow-ile nani?  
 You-hit-Perf who?  
 Whom did you hit?

Indirect Object Q: (4) Mwalimu icitabu a-in-ile nani?  
 Teacher book give-Perf who?  
 To whom did the teacher give the book?

Prep. Object: (5) Mwalimu a-longa na nani?  
 Teacher speak-PR Prep who  
 Whom is the teacher speaking to?

Examples of the use of CI-ONI:

Subject Q: (6) Ci-j-ile gumtama ci-oni?  
 RP-eat-Perf maize what  
 What has eaten the maize?

Object Q: (7) Imwana a-som-ile ci-oni  
 child read-Perf what  
 What is the child reading?

Prep. Object: (8) Imwana a-i-hom-ile na ci-oni?  
 child self-hurt-Perf Prep what  
 What did the child hurt himself with?

(ii) Adverbial Phrase Questions:

There are four clearly marked interrogative adverbial pronouns: KUIHI or BAHU (LOCATIVE), VIHU (MANNER), ULE (REASON), CUA-CI (TIME). The last mentioned would best be considered as questioning a determinate domain - 'which day'. In practice however, this interrogative is not restricted to a day but also to part of a day. Literally it means 'which sun'.

e.g.

Locative Adverb: (9) Imwana a-gen<sup>id</sup>-ile Kuhl?  
 child SC-go-Perf where  
 Where did the child go?

Locative Adverb: (10) Imwana u-mu-on-el-e bahi?  
 child you-OC-se-at where  
 Where at did you see the child?

Manner Adverb: (11) Ibalua wa-andika-ga vihi?  
 letter they-write-habit how  
 How do they write a letter?

VIHI is also used to indicate 'Reason'.

e.g. (12) Imwana u-mu-lag-ile vihi?  
 child you-OC-hit-Perf-why  
 Why did you hit the child

REASON: Adverb: (13) Imwana u-mu-lag-ile ule  
 child you-OC-hit-Perf why  
 Why (cause) did you hit the child?

Admittedly the difference between (12) and (13) is very slight and in practice few people make a clear cut distinction between them. (12) could semantically be interpreted as meaning: 'What reason had you for hitting the child?' while (13) would preferably be interpreted as 'What did the child do to merit your hitting him?'.

TIME ADVERB: (14) Imwana a-uy-ile cua-ci?  
 child SC-return-Perf when  
 When did the child come back?

#### b) Definite Domain:

In questioning a definite domain such as 'which child', 'which house' etc., the structure used resembles the English construction except that the nominal precedes the question morpheme, which is a clitic, in Ki-Luguru:

Thus: mwana-ci = which child (which of the children?)

munu-ci = which person?

nanda-ci = which house?

mene-ci = which goat?

isi-ci = which country?

kaye-ci = which village?

- Examples: (15) Ya-olila mwana-ci?  
 RP-cry-Pres child-which  
 Which child is crying?
- (16) I-lakal-e nanda-ci?  
 RP-burn-Perf house-which  
 Which house got burnt?

The antecedent may be expressed in both (15) and (16):

- (17) Imwana ya-olila mwana-ci?  
 child RP-cry-Pres child which  
 The child who is crying is which child?
- (18) Inanda ilakal-e nanda-ci?

In the discussion below 'questions' relating to a definite domain will be ignored as they are not particularly relevant to the central issue of our search.

## 8.2 Observation and Discussion.

A close examination of the surface structure of the various types of constituent questions as exemplified in sentences (2)-(14) will reveal some interesting surface structure syntactic properties of constituent questions in Ki-Luguru. It is these that we intend to explore and exploit here.

### 8.2.1 Subject Questioning:

Observe that of all the thirteen question forms, only two are subject questions; viz. (2) and (6). Notice also that only these two have a RP on them. This is one of the major syntactic properties of constituent questions in Ki-Luguru. All subject questions must carry a relative pronoun in surface structure. Thus the surface structure of (2) and (6) in tree form will look like Figure 30.





- (22) Guntama ci-gu-j-ile ~~ci~~ cioni?  
 maize RP-it-eat-Perf CCP what  
 (The maize, the thing that ate it is what?)

Object preposing is applicable even when the relative clause has two objects. One or both objects may be preposed. It can safely be generalized that whenever there is an NP or adverbial between the verb of the relative clause and the interrogative pronoun in subject-questions, the intervening NP or adverbial may optionally be moved to sentence initial position so as to bring the verb of the relative clause and the interrogative pronoun close to each other. This proximity has no syntactic consequence in the case of subject relative clause. We shall see later that a proximity of this kind is a necessary condition for relative clause reduction in cases of other than subject-questions.

#### 8.2.1.2 Question word in Initial Position.

Equally optional is the transformation that may move the interrogative pronoun to the initial position.

- (23) Nani ya-andik-e ibalua?  
 Who RP-write-Perf letter.
- (24) Cioni ci-j-ile guntama?  
 What RP-eat-Perf maize.

Choice of one or the other form of word order is usually motivated by the speaker's judgement of the needs of the communicative situation. The pseudo-cleft question-form, with the object in its normal position, is usually felt to be non-contrastive. The question-word-in-initial-position form is invariably emphatic or contrastive.

### 8.2.2 Object Questioning.

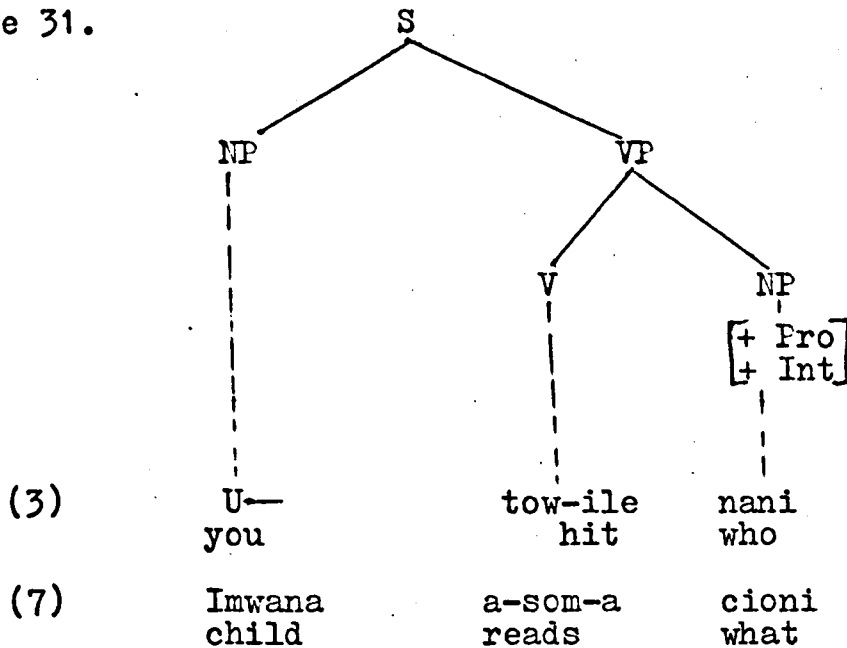
Under object questioning are to be included<sup>16</sup> all questionable positions other than subject, that is, direct objects, indirect objects, prepositional objects and adverbials.

At first sight the structure of object-questions is somewhat puzzling. On the one hand it looks very much like the subject-question structure - the position of the interrogative pronoun is the same and the verbal suffixes are alike. On the other hand one is intrigued by the absence of a relative pronoun in object questions, in view of the fact that the verb is in relative form. To see this clearly we should look at what the corresponding absolute forms would be:

<u>Relative Form</u>	<u>Absolute Form</u>
(3) u-tow-ile	Ku-tow-a
(4) a-in-ile	Ka-in-a
(5) a-longa	Ka-long-a
(7) a-soma	Ka-o-som-a
(8) a-i-hom-ile	Ka-i-hom-a
(9) a-gend-ile	Ka-gend-a
(10) u-mu-onel-e	Ku-mu-onel-a
(11) wa-andika-ga	Wa-andika-ga
(12) u-mu-lag-ile	Ku-mu-lag-a
(14) a-uy-ile	Ka-uy-a

There is a strong temptation for one to posit Figure 31 as the underlying structure for at least (3) and (7):

Figure 31.



If Figure 31 were the correct representation of the underlying form of object-questions then the validity of our generalizations made earlier in this chapter about constituent-question formation would be seriously in difficulty. Fortunately that is not the case. For it can be demonstrated that the superficial simplicity of all object-questions is a result of successive applications of transformations that rely on certain movement conditions.

One of the optional transformations that could apply to subject questions was the placement of the question word in initial position. Let us see whether a similar option holds for object questions:

- (25) \*Nani u-tow-ile?  
who you-hit-Perf.
- (26) \*Cioni imwana a-som-ile?  
what child SC-read-Perf.

This test can be applied to all object questions mentioned above and it will invariably yield negative results. One might protest, especially with regard to (26)

that word order has not been taken into account. A placement of the verb immediately next to the interrogative pronoun might yield better results.

- (27) \*Cioni a-som-ile imwana?  
       what SC-read-Perf child.

Although it must be admitted that (27) is not as unacceptable as (26), it is nonetheless far from normal in adult speech. Children at an early stage of language-learning can be heard making such sentences as (25) and (27) but not (26). (26) is a serious deviation from the norm. The reason why (25) (27), and many other constructions like them are tolerable among children is that they approximate to the correct form. The word order is absolutely correct: interrogative pronoun followed by a verb. The verbal form is correct, i.e. relative form. What is lacking is the relative pronoun.

- (28) Nani ya-u-tow-ile?  
       who RP-you-hit-Perf.
- (29) Cioni ci-som-ile imwana?  
       what RP-read-Perf child.

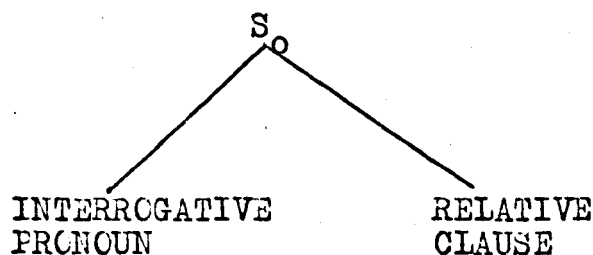
Thus it is possible to have the question word in initial position also in object questions provided that the interrogative pronoun is immediately followed by a relative verbal form with the appropriate relative pronoun attached to it. Practically all types of object questions can avail themselves of this optionality except perhaps those introduced by 'ULE' (=why). ULE has no gender marking. This precludes it from serving as an antecedent of a relative clause. With the other adverbial interrogatives

there is no restriction. Below are reproduced all the other object questions with the interrogative pronoun in initial position:

- (30) Nani ya-in-igw-e icitabu na mwalimu? (4)  
 who RP-give-Pass-Perf book by teacher
- (31a) Nani ya-o-longa-naye mwalimu? (5)  
 who RP-Pres-speak with-him teacher
- (31b) Nani ya-o-longa na mwalimu?  
 who RP-Pres-speak with teacher.
- (32) Cioni ci-a-i-hom-ile naco imwana?  
 what RP-he-self-hurt-Perf with-it child.
- (33) Kuhi ku-(a)-gend-ile imwana? (9)  
 where RP-(he)-go-Perf child
- (34) Bahi ha-u-mu-onel-e imwana (10)  
 where-at RP-you-him-see-Perf child.
- (35) Vihi vi-wa-andika-ga ibalua? (11)  
 How RP-they-write-hab letter.
- (36) Vihi vi-u-mu-lag-ile imwana? (12)  
 Why RP-you-him-hit-Perf child.

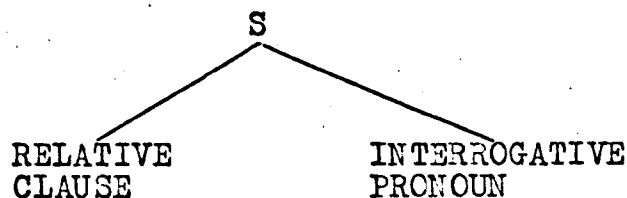
It is therefore clear that the organisation of object questions is not different from that of subject questions so long as the interrogative pronoun comes first. In both cases the structure consists of a PRONOUN followed by a RELATIVE CLAUSE, as shown in Figure 32.

Figure 32.



The order of constituents in Figure 32 can optionally be reversed to yield Figure 33.

Figure 33.



e.g. (37) Ci-som-ile imwana cioni?  
 RP-read-Perf child what  
 (The thing that the child read is what?)  
 What did the child read?

(38) Ya-u-tow-ile nani?  
 RF-you-hit-Perf who  
 (The one you hit is who?)  
 Whom did you hit?

Again there is no difference between object question and subject question if the relative clause comes first in the sentence. It is now necessary to ask ourselves how the difference between the subject-question and object-question as reflected in sentences (2) to (24) comes about. One obvious answer is that the difference is brought about by RP deletion. But this answer is incomplete in so far as it can only account for the derivation of (3) from (38) but not of (7) from (37). If the RP is deleted from (37) the resulting structure is ill-formed.

(39) \*somile imwana cioni?  
 read-Perf child what.

Thus RP deletion in object questions is conditional. The RP cannot be deleted unless the verbal form to which the RP is attached stands immediately before the interrogative pronoun. I will call this condition PROXIMITY or PROXIMISATION. In order to effect proximity of verb and interrogative pronoun, it is necessary to clear the intervening area of all major constituents that may exist between them already. The constituents thus cleared will be placed in preverbal positions as the following examples show:

- (40) Guntama ci-j-ile cioni? (20)  
maize RP-eat-Perf what.
- (41) Imwana ci-a-som-ile cioni? (37)  
child RP-he-read-Perf what.
- (42) Imwana ku-a-gend-ile kuhi? (33)  
child RP-he-go-Perf where.
- (43) Imwana ha-u-mu-onel-e bahi? (34)  
child RP-you-him-see-Perf where.
- (44) Ibalua vi-wa-andika-ga vihi? (35)  
letter RP-they-write-hab how.
- (45) Imwana vi-u-mu-lag-ile vihi? (36)  
child RP-you-him-hit-Perf why.

If the intervening constituent is a prepositional phrase, only the noun phrase is moved out of that position leaving behind a shadow pronoun attached as a clitic to the preposition.

- (46) Mwalimu ya-o-longa na-ye nani? (31a)  
teacher RP-Pres-speak with-him who
- (47) Imwana ci-a-i-hom-ile na-co cioni? (32)  
child RP-he-self-hurt-Perf with-it what

In the last example the shadow pronoun does not refer to Imwana but to the relativised NP. The point of this example is to show that such constituents as 'PREPOSITION x SHADOW PRONOUN' do not have to be cleared in order to effect proximation as a first step towards RP deletion, although as we shall see later, the shadow pronoun is always deleted along with the RP just in case the RP and the shadow pronoun are co-referential. Excluded from the last list of examples of proximity is sentence (30) which is in turn related to (4). It will be observed that (30) is not an object-question, technically, even though the constituent questioned is the logical or deep structure object



of the sentence. The distinction between subject-question and object-question formation strategies refers to elements in surface structure. Accordingly, (30) is a subject-question in so far as the element questioned is the subject of a passive sentence. It will be recalled from the chapter on relativisation that passivisation is sometimes a pre-condition for relativisation of a constituent in object position in case direct relativisation would result in an ambiguous sentence in surface structure, (see 6.3). If our generalisation that proximisation is a necessary pre-condition for RP deletion is correct we will have to postulate that (4) is derived from the non-passive counterpart of (30), because proximisation in (30) is unacceptable.

(48) \*Mwalimu ya-in-igw-e icitabu na-ye nani?  
Teacher RP-give-Pass-Perf book by-him who.

(49) \*Mwalimu, icitabu ya-in-igw-e naye nani?  
Teacher, book, RP-give-Pass-Perf by-him who.

We therefore propose to derive (4) from the ambiguous

(50) which yields (51) after proximisation.

(50) (?)Ya-in-ile icitabu mwalimu nani?  
RP-give-Perf book teacher who  
Who did the teacher give the book to?

(51) Icitabu mwalimu ya-a-in-ile nani?  
Book teacher RP-he-give-Perf who.

#### 8.2.2.1

The process referred to above as Proximisation could arguably be described in a different way. The movement of NPs from their normal position in a given structure to a different position has repercussions on the communicative dynamism of the sentence. Word-order is relatively freer in Ki-Luguru, and in Bantu languages in general, than

in English. What is the best term for describing these positional manoeuvres? Topicalisation is one possible term. However, there is no agreement as to what it should stand for in linguistics. 'Dislocation' is another and more expressive term but it has the disadvantage of giving the impression of moving constituents to where they do not belong. Constituent movements obey certain syntactic constraints and are therefore natural movements within the given rules of the game. Any suggestion that they are somewhat unnatural manoeuvres is probably wrong.

PROXIMISATION is the ideal term because it pin-points the real and immediate cause of RP deletion. The movement of intervening constituents is aimed at bringing about this proximity. Indeed, sometimes there might be nothing to move, like in (38) where the interrogative pronoun and the verb of the embedded clause are already in proximity to each other.

#### 8.2.2.2 RP-DELETION:

RP-deletion is a semi-optional transformation. It is preferable but not obligatory to apply RP deletion in object questions if the interrogative pronoun stands in proximity to the verb of the embedded clause. Thus (40) to (45) are perfectly well-formed questions. By deleting the RP from these sentences we get equally well-formed sentences like the ones we saw at the beginning of this discussion, viz. some of those found in sentences between (2) and (14).

The proximisation condition is absolute as far as

lexical words are concerned. As long as at least one lexical word remains standing between the verb and the interrogative pronoun, RP deletion cannot take place. Thus, starting with (52a) we cannot obtain optimal conditions for RP deletion until both 'imwana' and 'jana' have been put out of the way, as in (52d) which, as it were, ushers in (52e).

(52a) Ci-tul-ile imwana jana cioni?  
 RP-break-Perf child yesterday what  
 What did the child break yesterday?

(52b) Imwana ci-a-tul-ile jana cioni?  
 Child RP-he-break-Perf yesterday what.

(52c) \*Imwana ø-a-tul-ile jana cioni?  
 Child he-break-Perf yesterday what

RP deletion in (52c) misfires because there is still a lexical word between the verb and the interrogative pronoun.

(52d) Imwana jana ci-a-tul-ile cioni?  
 Child yesterday RP-he-break-Perf what .

(52e) Imwana jana a-tul-ile cioni?  
 Child yesterday he-break-Perf what  
 What did the child break yesterday?

The same constraints hold for locative adverbials and comitative prepositional phrases in intervening position, as can be seen in (53) and (54) below.

(53a) Ci-a-gal-ile mu-itwi-imwana cioni?  
 RP-he-carry-Perf on-head child what  
 What did the child carry on the head?

(53b) Imwana ci-a-gal-ile mu-itwi cioni?  
 Child RP-he-carry-Perf on-head what.

(53c) \*Imwana ø a-gal-ile mu-itwi cioni?  
 Child he-carry-Perf on-head what.

(53d) Imwana mu-itwi ci-a-gal-ile cioni?  
 Child on-head RP-he-carry-Perf what.

- (53e) Imwana mu-itwi  $\phi$ -a-gal-ile cioni?  
Child on-head-he-carry-Perf what?
- (54a) Ku-a-gend-ile na gumage imwana kuhi?  
RP-he-go-Perf with-knife child where?  
Where did the child go with the knife?
- (54b) Imwana ku-a-gend-ile na gumage kuhi?  
Child RP-he-go-Perf with knife where?
- (54c)\* Imwana  $\phi$ -a-gend-ile na gumage kuhi?  
Child he-go-Perf with-knife where?
- (54d) Gumage imwana ku-a-gend-ile na-guo kuhi?  
Knife child RP-he-go-Perf with-it where?
- (54e) Gumage imwana  $\phi$ -a-gend-ile naguo kuhi?  
Knife child he-go-Perf with-it where?  
Where did the child go with the knife?

### 8.2.2.3 Subject-Verb Agreement in Object Questions:

It will be recalled from previous sections that in relativisation the subject concord is deleted whenever the subject is postposed, provided that the postposed subject forms one phonological group with the verb. Any phonological break<sup>17</sup> between the two constituents either blocks SC-deletion or re-introduces the SC transformationally as in the case of the postposed subject's moving to pre-verbal position for strategic purposes, such as proximisation. A phonological break is almost inevitable if there stands between the verb and the postposed subject some other lexical word. See for example sentences (53a) and (54a).

The question to be faced here is whether this element that can be switched on and off so delicately is a concord or a shadow pronoun. We know that concords in Ki-Luguru can function as pronouns in the absence of the appropriate lexical noun. But there are syntactic situations in which it is more appropriate to give a pronominal interpretation to what might otherwise be considered as a concord.

Consider, for example, sentences (55) and (56):

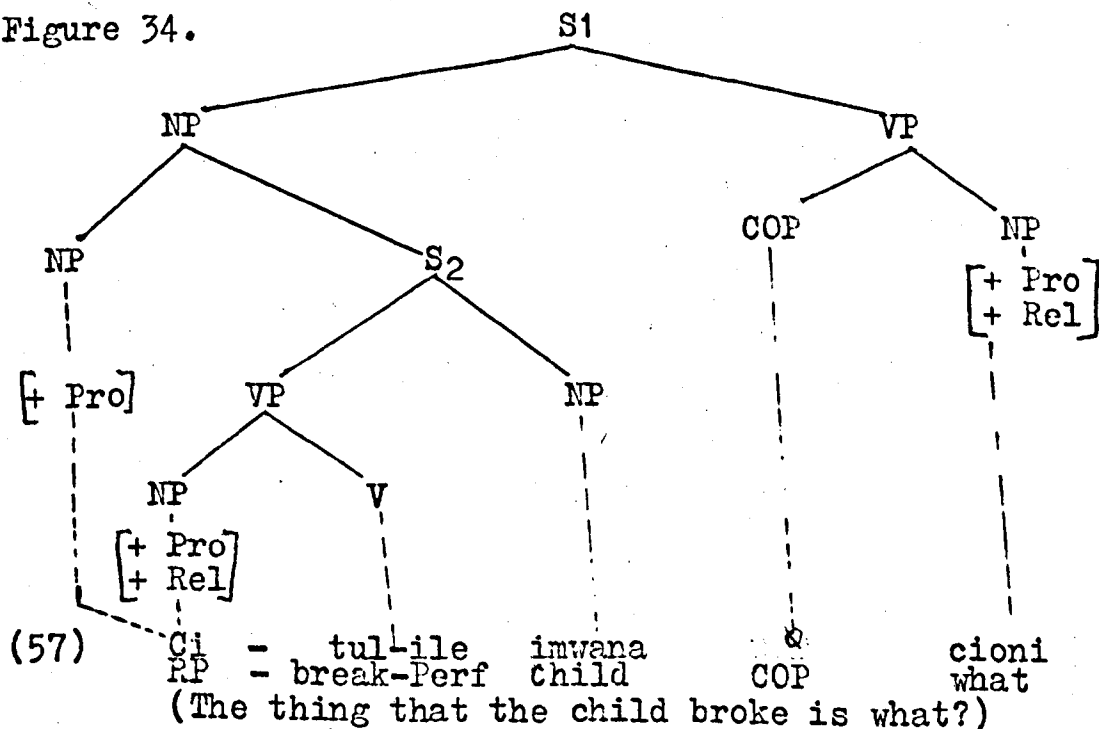
(55) Imwana ka-gua  
Child SC-Past-fall.  
The child has fallen.

(56) Ka-gua, imwana.  
Pro-Past-fall child.  
He has fallen, the child.

In the case of (55) ka is interpreted as SC, while in (56) ka- is more appropriately interpreted as a proform referring to 'imwana'. This interpretation is intuitively and phonologically correct, but I know of no syntactic argument that could be advanced to expel all possible doubts. Movement of a constituent from its ordinary position is the only concept I can think of that could give credibility to the pronominal status of ka- in (56).

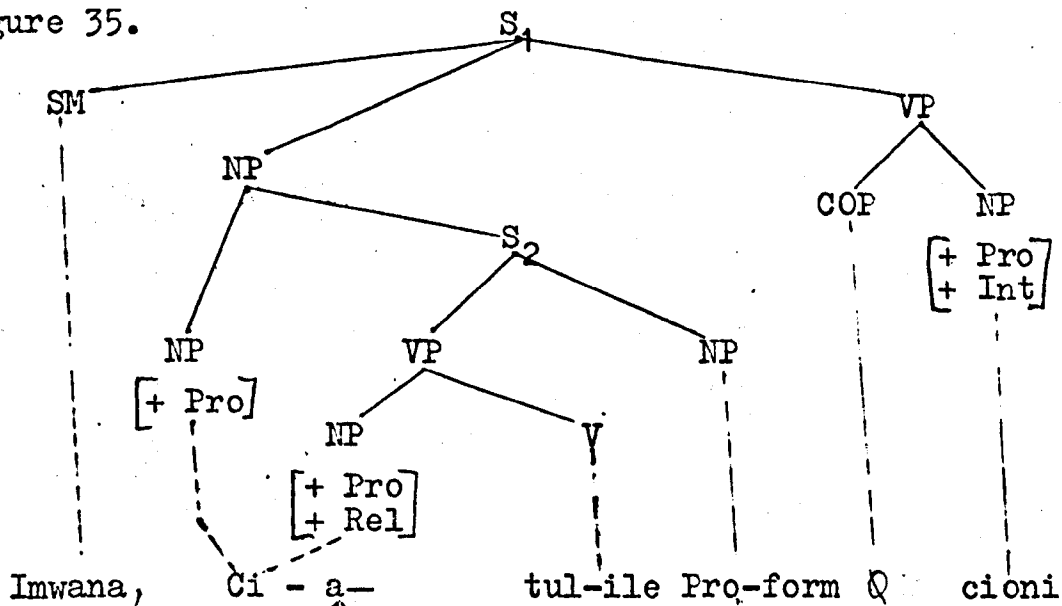
I would like to suggest that the so-called subject concord found within the verb-form in a non-subject relative clause is, in fact, a pronoun, not a pure concord. Figure 34 represents an object-question sentence before conditions for RP deletion have been met.

Figure 34.



In order to create a favourable atmosphere for RP-deletion it is necessary to move the NP immediately dominated by S<sub>2</sub> to initial position. It is assumed that a pro-form of it is left behind, as shown in Figure 35.

Figure 35.

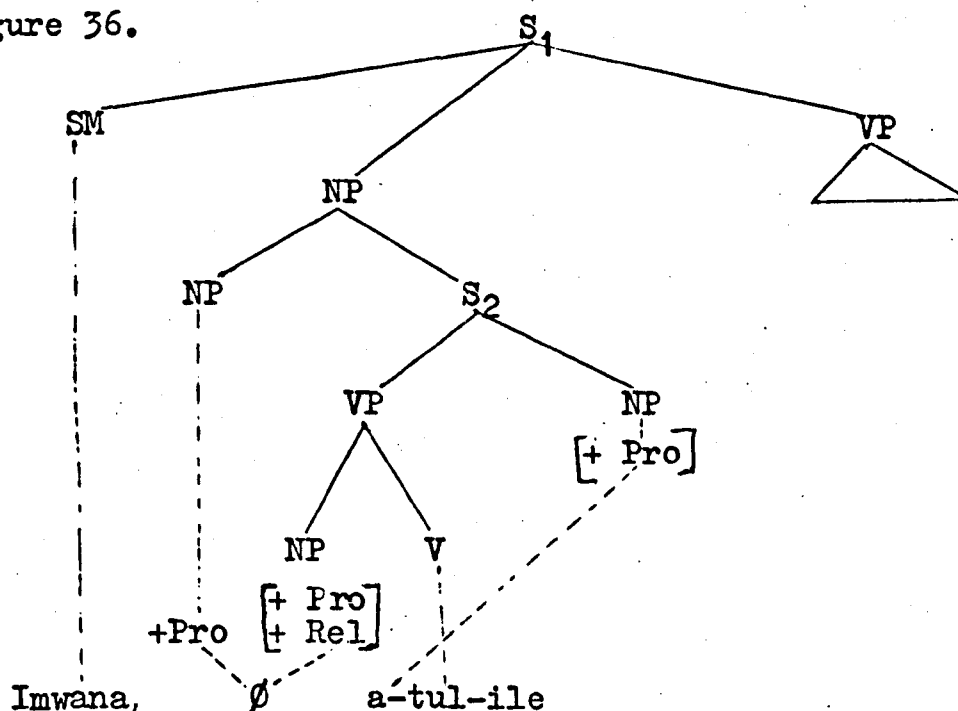


The pro-form left behind by the migration of 'imwana' to sentence modifier (SM)<sup>18</sup> position is inserted between the RP and Verb to yield (58).

- (58) Imwana ci-a-tul-ile      cioni?  
 Child   RP-he-break-Perf   COP what?

The pro-form functions as subject of the embedded clause only. The subject of S<sub>1</sub> is ci- in which are incorporated features of both the antecedent and the relative pronoun. The deletion of the relative pronoun entails therefore the deletion of the antecedent because the two are inextricably intertwined. The resulting situation is schematically represented in Figure 36.

Figure 36.



Thus one of the consequences of RP deletion is to deprive the matrix sentence of its subject NP headnoun. The embedded sentence however retains its subject pronoun but loses its object pronoun, namely the RP. The verb of the embedded sentence also retains its relative form. The fate of the VP constituent of S1 will now be examined.

#### 8.2.2.4 Copula Deletion and Predicate Lowering:

There is a case for postulating that RP-deletion triggers off two other transformations which will be called copula-deletion and predicate lowering. The evidence for this is provided by the behaviour of prepositional phrases after RP-deletion. Consider sentence (59) in which the relative pronoun refers to an NP in a prepositional phrase.

- (59) Ya-a-was-ile na-ye imwana ~~na-ye~~ nani?  
 RP-he-sleep-Perf with-him child who  
 Who did the child sleep with?

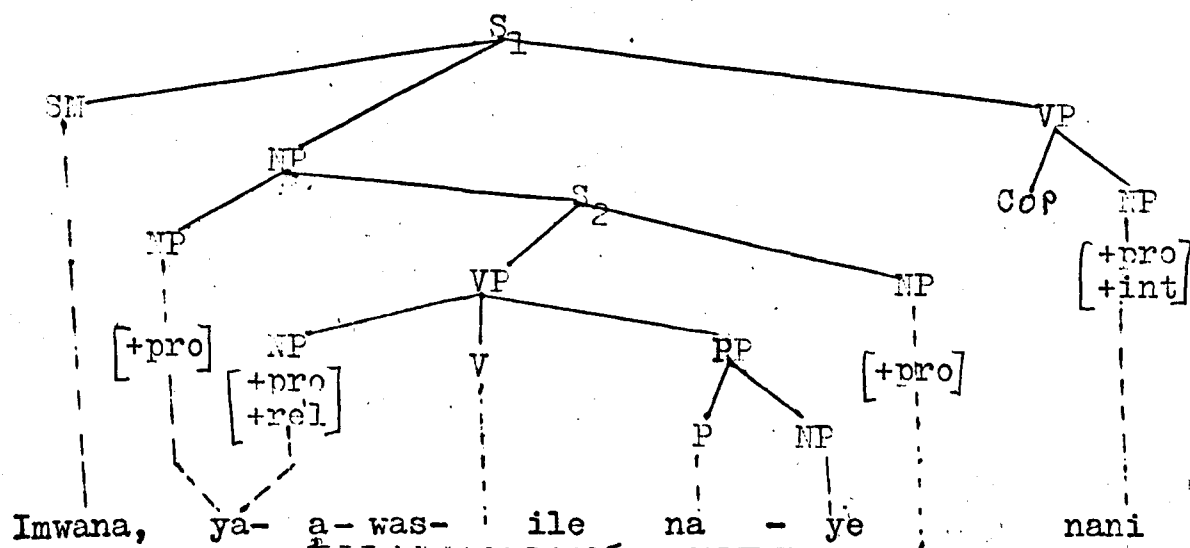
Proximisation yields (60) from (59).

- (60) Imwana ya-a-was-ile na-ye ~~na-ye~~ nani?  
 Child RP-he-sleep-Perf with-him who?

The conditions for RP deletion have been met in (60).

In tree format (60) would look like Figure 37.

Figure 37.



RP-deletion on (60) would yield (61) which is ill-formed.

- (61) \*Imwana Ø-a-was-ile na-ye cop nani?  
Child he-sleep-Perf with-him cop who.

The ill-formedness of (61) can only be corrected by deleting also the shadow pronoun -ye attached to the preposition na. At first sight it would appear that the PP-constituent has disintegrated leaving the preposition na stranded. This is true only in so far as the S2 boundaries are concerned. But within the broader context of S1 the stranded preposition combines with the interrogative pronoun to form a new constituent-prepositional phrase - as shown in (62).

- (62) Imwana a-was-ile na nani?  
Child he-sleep-Perf with who?  
Whom did the child sleep with?

Unless we postulate a transformation that deletes the copula and lowers the interrogative pronoun into the embedded clause, I see no satisfactory way of explaining the derivation of (62). If copula deletion and predicate



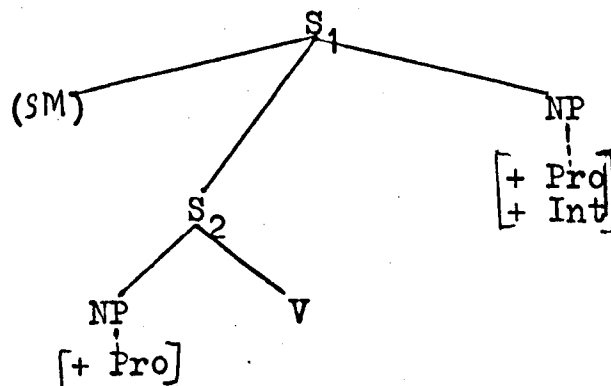
lowering is a necessary accompaniment of RP deletion in the case of prepositional phrases, this must also be true of all other cases of RP deletion. With the lowering of the predicate nominal into the embedded sentence, the structure of the matrix sentence is effectively demolished and the resultant construction looks like a simple sentence. The only indicator of the complexity of its origin is the relative form of the verb.

We have thus shown how an object question sentence comes to assume a relatively simple form in surface structure by indicating the various movement and deletion transformations involved.

Before proceeding to consider the structural form of corresponding answers for these types of questions I would like to make three observations or notes:

- i) It appears to me that the most helpful way of viewing or approaching any non-subject constituent-question which is without a relative pronoun marker is to assume something like Figure 38 as its underlying or intermediate structure.

Figure 38.



In terms of deep structure representation, Figure 38 is highly unorthodox. Yet in terms of surface structure

facts this figure comes closest to the form of the actual expression. (SM) stands for a topicalised nominal co-referential with the subject pronoun of S2.

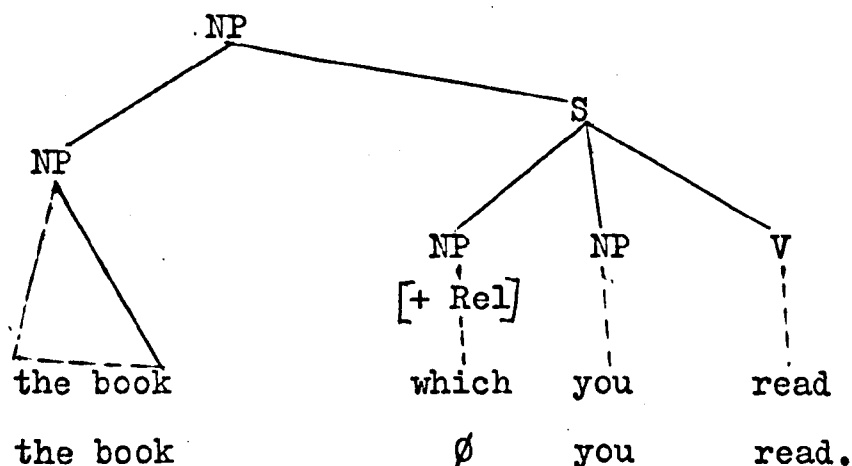
e.g. (63) Lukowo a-gend-ile kuhi?  
Lukowo, he-go-Perf where?  
Where did Lukowo go?

(SM) Could also stand for a time adverbial.

e.g. (64) Ligolo, mu-was-ile kuhi?  
Yesterday you-sleep-Perf where?  
Where did you sleep yesterday?

ii) From our discussion of the process of RP deletion it is clear that the conditions for this transformation are different from those of object RP deletion in English. In English the object RP is optionally deleted if it follows directly after the headnoun and immediately precedes the subject NP of the relative clause as in Figure 39.

Figure 39.



In Ki-Luguru the RP can never be deleted if its antecedent is a lexical noun. Secondly the only environment that can induce RP deletion is the presence of a predicate nominal immediately after the verb of the relative clause. If the sentence is declarative

further transformations are called for thereafter. If it is interrogative, no additional transformations are needed. Thirdly, a deletable object RP must, as in English, precede the subject NP (always a pronoun in Ki-Luguru) of the relative clause.

iii) Given that (i) object RP cannot be deleted if there is a lexical headnoun and (ii), subject to condition (i), object RP deletion is only possible in the proximity of a predicate nominal, (iii), that deletable object RP must precede a subject pronoun, (iv), subject RP cannot be deleted under any circumstances, Can we find some rational explanation for this kind of deletability?

I have not so far found an explanation for the deletability of the object RP in English. Presumably it has something to do with linguistic economy. If so, should the economy principle not be extended to subject RP under similar circumstances? I have not found an explanation for the Ki-Luguru situation either. However, it will be argued later that the economy-principle is sometimes extended to the subject RP, not without cost though. This lies at the root of the strangeness of permuted sentences.

CHAPTER NINE: ANSWER-TYPES

Although the terms 'Declarative' and 'Interrogative' are considered to represent or refer to speech acts that are poles apart, it cannot be denied that in some respect there is a good deal of common ground or affinity between the two that deserves to be studied on its own merits, especially if such a study promises to illuminate some obscure areas of syntactic form and interpretation. Nowhere is this affinity more clearly manifested than in 'Declarative' forms that are primarily elicited as responses to constituent questions. Whether such syntactic forms ought to be considered as a category apart from the ordinary non-response 'Declarative' is open to question. Our main interest here is to provide examples that will indicate how rules and principles that determine question-forms in Ki-Luguru also determine the syntactic form and interpretations of the answers thereto:

### 9.1 Natural Answer:

A single question can receive various answers depending on the degree of co-operativeness, knowledge and sincerity of the addressee. In the present context an answer will be deemed to be a natural answer only if it satisfies the answerhood conditions as contained and expressed in the syntactic form of the question. Specifically, a linguistically natural answer to a

constituent question is that which replaces the interrogative pronoun by a non-variable. Our position is basically the same as that of Baker's (1968) regarding the relationship between question and answer in English.

"If, instead of being introduced by 'whether' the question is introduced by some other interrogative word, such as who, when, where, why, how, etc., then it is understood as providing a scheme which specifies the form that possible answers may take rather than giving an explicit list. A sentence is a possible answer to such a question if it is identical with the question except for having added information in the constituents where the interrogation word appears."<sup>19</sup>

## 9.2 Evasion and Rejection:

Entirely non-relevant here are types of answers that are generally known as Evasion and Rejection. An answer is said to be an evasion if it deliberately fails to provide the required information with a reasonable degree of specificity, or provides information other than that solicited. Thus (2) as an answer to (1) constitutes an evasion if the respondent has grasped the real sense of (1).

- (1) Ya-o-lilānani?  
RP-Pres-cry who?  
Who is crying?
- (2) Ka-na lukwale  
She-with madness  
She is mad.

(2) provides some information but it is not the information solicited by (1) and the respondent knows this to be the case.

An evasion would not occur if the respondent had mistakenly thought the question word to be 'why' instead of 'who'. For (2) would then be considered as a bona fide answer - irrelevant though it is to the addresser's intention. (2) would constitute a perfectly natural answer to (3):

- (3) Alila vihi?  
She-cry why?  
Why is she crying?

A rejection is a response which denies some basic assumption(s) made by the questioner. Thus (4) as a response to (1) would constitute a rejection of the mistaken assumption that 'there is someone crying', which is the rational basis of question (1).

- (4) Ja-hana munu olila baye  
Not-there-be someone crying NO  
Nobody is crying.

A declaration of ignorance is not a natural answer either. It rejects the addresser's assumption of the addressee's ability to provide the required information. Thus (5) is not a natural answer to (1).

- (5) Imane  
I do not know.

### 9.3 Structural Parallelism Between Natural Questions and Answers:

Abstracting from all major philosophical speculations regarding the logical properties and relations of

questions, one can establish, at least on the evidence of Ki-luguru, some very striking parallelism between the syntactic form of a constituent question and the syntactic form of the corresponding natural answer. The basis of the study is linguistic form. When the parallelism in linguistic form between questions and answers appears to break down then the cause for the break-down must be investigated so as to establish whether the breakdown was internally or externally motivated. Below is a list of question-forms with various answer-types. Answers that seem to depart from the expected forms will be examined more carefully later in this section. Answers are lettered in their order of preference:

Q. (6) Ya-guile nani?  
 RP-fall-Perf who?  
 Who fell?

Ans. A. Ya-guile LUKOWO  
 B. LUKOWO  
 C. LUKOWO ya-guile.

Q. (7) Ya -tow-igw-e na mwalimu nani?  
 RP-hit-Pass-Perf by teacher who?  
 Who was hit by the teacher?

Ans. A. Ya-tow-igwe na mwalimu LUKOWO  
 B. LUKOWO  
 C. LUKOWO ya-towigwe na mwalimu.

Q. (8) Ya-tul-ile iciya nani?  
 RP-break-Perf pot who  
 Who broke the pot?

Ans. A. Ya-tul-ile iciya LUKOWO  
 B. LUKOWO  
 C. LUKOWO ya-tulile iciya.

Questions (6) and (8) are in pseudo-cleft form.

The responses vary from the maximally preferred pseudo-cleft form to the minimally preferred cleft-form. B.

represents a middle-of-the-road position.

Q. (9) Nani ya-gu-ile?

Ans. A. LUKOWO ya-gu-ile.  
 B. LUKOWO  
 C. Ya-gu-ile LUKOWO.

Q. (10) Nani ya-tow-igwe na mwalimu?

Ans. A. LUKOWO ya-tow-igw-e na mwalimu.  
 B. LUKOWO  
 C. Ya-tow-igw-e na mwalimu LUKOWO.

Q. (11) Nani ya-tul-ile iciya?

Ans. A. LUKOWO ya-tul-ile iciya.  
 B. LUKOWO  
 C. Ya-tul-ile iciya LUKOWO.

Questions (9) and (11) are in cleft form and therefore the order of <sup>the</sup> preferred form of answer is also changed from relative clause first to relative clause last.

### 9.3.1

Pseudo-cleft question-forms in which the relative-clause-verb stands immediately before the interrogative pronoun are susceptible of more answer forms than otherwise, provided that the relative clause has a lexical object.

Q. (12) Iciya ya-tul-ile nani?  
 pot RP-break-Perf who?  
 Who broke the pot?

Ans. A. Iciya ya-tul-ile LUKOWO  
 B. Ya-tul-ile LUKOWO  
 C. LUKOWO (ya-tul-ile).  
 D. Iciya ci-tul-a LUKOWO  
 E. Ci-tula LUKOWO.

Q. (13) Zingodi ya-galile nani?  
 Firewood RP-bring-Perf who?  
 Who brought the firewood?

Ans. A. Zingodi ya-gal-ile LUKOWO  
 B. Ya-gal-ile LUKOWO  
 C. LUKOWO (ya-gal-ile).  
 D. Zingodi zigala LUKOWO.  
 E. Zi-gal-a LUKOWO



Q. (14) Guntama guu ya-hand-ile nani?  
Maize this RP-plant-Perf who?  
Who planted this maize?

- Ans. A. Guntama guu ya-hand-ile LUKOWO  
B. Ya-hand-ile LUKOWO  
C. LUKOWO (ya-hand-ile).  
D. Guntama guu gu-hand-a LUKOWO  
E. Gu-hand-a LUKOWO.

Q. (15) Ligembe imwana ya-mu-in/-ile nani?  
Hoe child RP-OC-give-Perf who?  
Who gave the hoe to the child?

- Ans. A. Ligembe imwana ya-mu-in-ile LUKOWO  
B. Ya-mu-in-ile LUKOWO  
C. LUKOWO (ya-mu-in-ile).  
D. Ligembe imwana li-mu-in-a LUKOWO  
E. Li-mu-in-a LUKOWO

Q. (16) Imwana ya-mu-tow-ile mani?

- Ans. A. Imwana ya-mu-tow-ile LUKOWO  
B. Ya-mu-tow-ile LUKOWO  
C. LUKOWO  
D. \*Imwana ka-mu-tow-a LUKOWO  
E. \*Ka-mu-towa LUKOWO.

Questions (12) - (16) differ from (8) only in so far as the order of elements is concerned. In (8) the object of the relative clause stands between the relative verb and the interrogative pronoun. In (12) - (16) the object comes first and consequently the relative verb and interrogative pronoun are juxtaposed. As a result (12) - (16) are able to receive five answer-forms against three of (8). It can therefore be generalized that any differences in answer-forms between (8) and (12)-(16) should be accounted for in terms of position of elements in surface structure. What is particularly disturbing however is not the change of order but the change of form in the relative verb which is apparently

triggered off by a particular order of elements in surface structure. D and E (12) - (15) display three syntactic features that are in many ways peculiar:

- a) Loss of relative pronoun.
- b) Loss of relative verb-ending.
- c) Instead of subject-verb agreement we have object-verb agreement masquerading as subject-verb agreement in surface structure.

The last point is much more complex. The full and proper account of it will be made later when an attempt will be made to find a rational basis for the confusion and conflict.

Response-forms to Question (16) should also be noted. D and E are unacceptable here, despite the fact that (16) meets all the conditions that differentiate (12)-(15) from (8). It therefore looks as if for a question to be susceptible of five answer-forms it is not sufficient for the relative clause to have a lexical object and the relative verb to be in proximity with the interrogative pronoun. These might be necessary conditions but by themselves are not sufficient to produce the required effect. (16) is a vivid testimony of this fact. Nor can the presence of OC in (16) be advanced as a crucial factor in blocking D and E answer-forms. OC is also present in (15) and there it does not block the derivation of D and E answer forms. The real reason is either more subtle than we have hitherto been able to perceive or lies entirely

elsewhere in the grammar of Ki-Luguru.

Q. (17) Ci-tul-ile imwana cioni?  
 RP-break-Perf child what?  
 What did the child break?

An. A. Ci-tul-ile imwana ICIYA  
 B. ICIYA.

Q.(18) Ci-ku-in-ile mwalimu cioni?  
 RP-you-give-Perf-teacher what?  
 What did the teacher give you?

An. A. Ci-n-ga<sup>y</sup>-ile mwalimu ICITABU  
 B. ICITABU.

The most natural answers to (17) and (18) may take the form of a full sentence or a fragment. It is much less likely to get a clefted response-form to (17) and (18) instead of the pseudo-cleft response-form. However, I do not rule out such a possibility entirely. Usage varies from speaker to speaker.

No examples of clefted question forms will be provided here for the simple reason that they make no significant contribution to our discussion at this stage. We shall proceed to explore other positional variations of constituents in object-questions and see whether here too, significant new response-forms emerge:

Q. (19) Imwana, ci-a-tul-ile cioni?  
 Child RP-he-break-Perf-what?

Ans. A. Imwana ci-a-tul-ile ICIYA.  
 B. Ci-a-tul-ile ICIYA.  
 C. ICIYA (ci-a-tul-ile).  
 D. Ka-tul-a ICIYA  
 E. Imwana ka-tul-a ICIYA.

Q. (20) Mwalimu ci-a-ku-in-ile cioni?  
 Teacher RP-he-you-give Perf what?

An. A. Mwalimu ci-a-n-ga<sup>y</sup>-ile ICITABU  
 B. Ci-a-n-ga<sup>y</sup>-ile ICITABU  
 C. ICITABU (ci-a-n-ga<sup>y</sup>-ile)  
 D. Ka-n-gay-a ICITABU.  
 E. Mwalimu ka-n-gay-a ICITABU.

(19) and (20) represent a situation similar to that encountered earlier in (12) - (15) where the number of response-forms was enlarged as a result of a simple movement transformation. The additional response-forms are also similar in at least two respects (if not more):

- a) Loss of relative pronoun.
- b) Loss of relative-verb-ending. (-ILE).

The third feature that characterized D and E responses in (12) - (15) cannot be said to hold in the case of (19) and (20), although something of a like nature seems to occur. By altering the wording of our previous formulation of the third characteristic feature of the additional response-forms to 'the verb agrees in number and gender with the noun immediately preceding it, regardless of its syntactic functions, unless such a noun is simultaneously object in function and ANIMATE in character', we can give a semblance of uniformity in the operations at work in these constructions. The great freedom of word-order in Ki-Luguru makes it impossible to place much value on the formulation just stated. The real situation is much more complex and to some extent puzzling.

Q. (21) Imwana a-ful-ile cioni?

- An. A. Ka-tul-a ICIYA  
 B. Imwana ka-tul-a ICIYA

Q. (22) Mwalimu a-ku-ij-ile cioni

- An. A. Ka-n-gay-a ICITABU  
 B. Mwalimu ka-n-gay-a ICITABU

(21) and (22) represent a more advanced form of object-question from which the relative pronoun has been deleted, although the relative-form of the verb is retained. The response-forms of these two questions are highly significant in that:

- a) They have no relative pronoun (like their question counter-part).
- b) The verb does not take the relative form (unlike the corresponding question form).
- c) No other response-form is possible.

What conclusions can we draw from the response-forms to (21) and (22) knowing that these question-forms are intermediately derived from (19) and (20) and ultimately from (17) and (18) respectively?

- a) Once an RP has been transformationally deleted from a question-form, it is most unlikely to show up again in the response form.
- b) A relative-verb-form from which an RP has been deleted cannot be used as such in the response-form; thus as a response form to (21), (23) is unacceptable.

(23) \*Imwana a-tul-ile ICIYA.  
Child he-break-Perf pot.

- c) Because of (b) one must seek to account for the obligatory transformation of the relative verb form to absolute verb form, given the general assumption that questions and answers share the same presupposition, expressed, in the case of Ki-Luguru, by the relative clause (full or reduced).
- d) If the rule which obligatorily converts to absolute

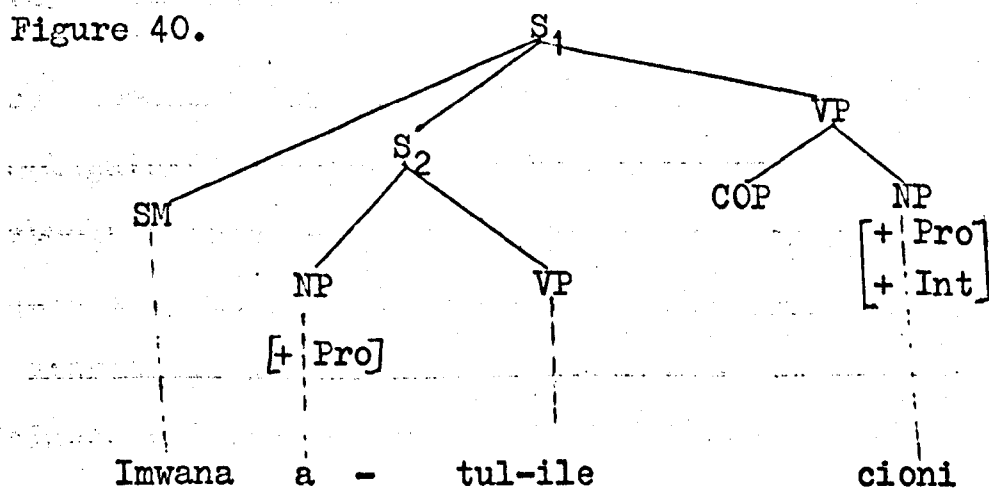
form the verb of the response-forms, (21) and (22), as stipulated in (c), can be expressed in a satisfactory way, then the same provision must be extended, on an optional basis, and with the necessary caveats, to response-forms of questions (12)-(30), minus (17) and (18).

The implicit claim of (d) is that under certain syntactic environments the strict distinction between relative and absolute functions become blurred to the extent of allowing optionality in the form of the verb used. The optionality is extremely puzzling. It demonstrates however, the correctness of one of the fundamental beliefs of TG, namely that the surface structure of a sentence is a cumulative product of a series of rules, each of which modifies an underlying representation in some way, making it more like its ultimate surface form.

### 9.3.2 Relative-Clause Raising:

The structure of object-questions without RP was earlier represented as:

Figure 40.

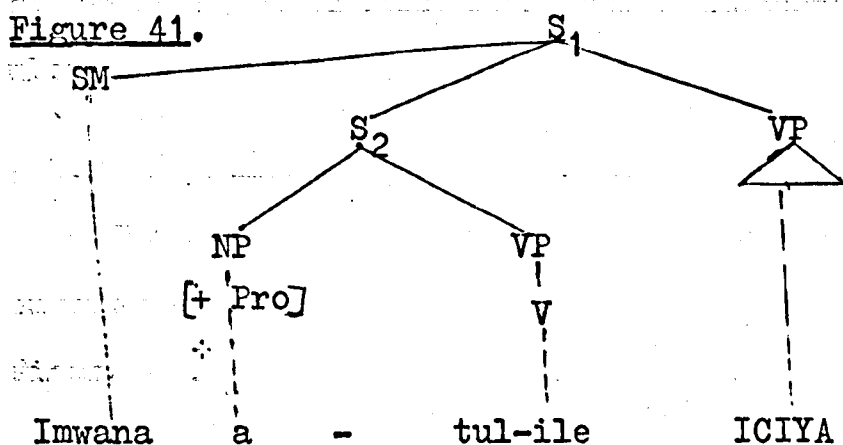


Evidence was given suggesting that there was a

need for postulating two transformations that must apply to this configuration before a well-formed string can be produced. The two transformations were: Copula-Deletion and Predicate Lowering. Predicate lowering moves a constituent from a higher S into a lower S - which is a dubious transformation.

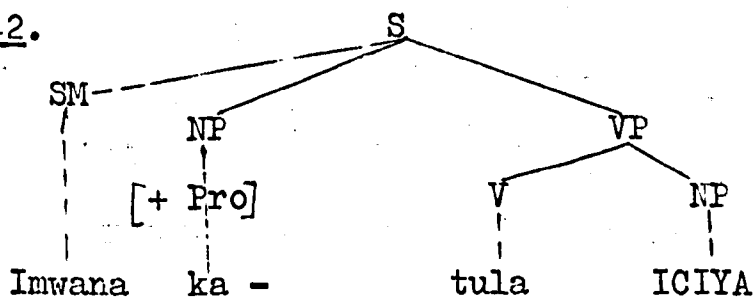
It seems to me that in order to explain the syntactic form of the corresponding answer we have got to postulate a transformation which operates in the opposite direction from that of predicate lowering. This transformation has the effect of raising a relative clause into the higher sentence.<sup>20</sup> I believe that this is the most appropriate way of accounting for the transformation of the verb from relative to absolute in response-forms. Thus:

Figure 41.



→ Figure 42

Figure 42.



The only feature in Figure 42 that could indicate the complex origin of the sentence would be a contrastive stress on the post-verbal constituent, ICIYA.

The fact is that we do not get emphatic or contrastive stress on ICIYA, as such. Instead we get nuclear stress on the verb.<sup>21</sup> Before RP deletion nuclear stress was on ICIYA. As soon as RP deletion has applied nuclear stress appears to migrate to the verb. The reason for this will be given in Chapter Eleven where a movement called attraction of verb to FOCUS will be postulated.

Notice, however, that the same positional constraints that govern RP deletion also hold here, namely, no nominal may stand between the verb and the focused NP. Sentence (24) is therefore unacceptable.

(24) \*Mwalimu ka-mu-ipa imwana ICIYA.  
Teacher SC-OC-give child pot.

(24) cannot be an appropriate answer to:

"What did the teacher give to the child?"

The position of elements in (24) would be appropriate only if (24) were an answer to something like:

"What did the teacher do?" or

"What happened?"

Similarly, (25) below cannot be an appropriate answer to:

"What is the child carrying on the head?" if "muitwi" is considered as phonologically belonging to the same tone-group as the verb.

(25) \*Imwana ka-gala ICIYA muitwi.  
Child SC-carry pot on-head.



In order to focus on 'ICIYA', 'muitwi' must be phonologically dislocated from the verb so that we get something like:

.....// ka-gala iciya// mwitwi.

The rules of placement of nuclear stress seem to play a major part in the surface form of Ki-Luguru sentences. I believe that many response-forms which show no overt signs of their relative clause origins are concealing in fact, a very complex history. Here the words of George Lakoff (1970) are very pertinent:

"What have often been called main clauses in traditional grammar very often arise as embedded clauses and assume their stature as main clauses only through transformational derivation."(p.173).

With regard to the origin of the absolute forms found in responses to questions like (19) and (20), it can logically be assumed that here too, the RP has optionally been deleted since all the structural conditions for such deletion were met in the structure of the questions. Once RP deletion has applied, relative clause raising becomes obligatory as illustrated in Figure 41 and 42 above.

The absolute forms appearing in responses to questions (12)-(16) are much more difficult to account for. But it is precisely this type of construction that we originally set out to explore. We will now turn to it and see in what sense and to what extent it is anomalous or parallel to what has been discussed up to this point.

## CHAPTER TEN

### ANALOGICAL RP-DELETION

On the basis of evidence provided by the parallelism of structure between Question and Response forms as discussed in Chapter eight and nine, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that the derivation of permuted sentences of the type discussed earlier in Chapter five involves a deletion transformation similar to that operating in Object Question forms and their corresponding answers. What may be said to be 'anomalous' in this particular construction is the fact that as a response form it departs significantly from the form of the question it is supposed to answer. The cause of this cleavage between Question and Answer form will now be investigated. It will be shown that the derivation of the answer-form in question involves a complex of grammatical operations that are only partially explicable at this stage. The key concept here is, as the heading of the chapter suggests, 'Analogy'. Permuted Sentences, it will be argued, represent subject focus answer forms not directly but derivatively generated by way of analogy to the Object focus pattern.

The attempt to justify this hypothesis will concentrate on four main points:

- (i) The role of analogy in Syntax.
- (ii) Analogical RP-Deletion.
- (iii) Subject-Verb agreement rule.
- (iv) Fake Subject-Verb agreement rule.

### 10.1 The role of Analogy in Syntax.

In Synchronic linguistics 'analogy' is a rare term. In diachronic linguistics, however, the term appears to have been in use for a long time and occupies an important place especially in the study of sound, semantic and morphological changes. Analogy here has frequently been invoked to explain certain patterns of change. It is said, for example, that analogy operates in sound change to produce a kind of chain-reaction within a cluster of sounds. Thus, if at a particular stage of evolution one member of a sound-cluster develops a special characteristic (such as addition or loss of a feature), it is likely that a similar feature will be reflected in the other members of the cluster in due course. This approach may, in my view, be resting on a false assumption, i.e. that sound change operates on individual sounds, rather than on a complex of sound features that may be shared by more than one sound. If the latter view is correct, and it seems to me to be the better approach, then there is no reason to assume that sound change begins with a particular sound and then spreads to others. The change may be assumed to take place simultaneously, although it may take time for such a change to be realised universally within a given language dialect. A similar argument could be advanced in relation to semantic changes that are often described as analogical changes. It is quite plausible to assume that a semantic change operates on some semantic features

or complex of features simultaneously shared by many words. This is what I believe to be the case in changes of meaning involving emotive language, such as described by Hans Sperber (quoted in Ullmann 1951):

"If at a certain time a complex of ideas is so strongly charged with feeling that it causes one word to extend its sphere and change its meaning, we may confidently expect that other words belonging to the same emotional complex will also shift their meaning." (Ullmann p. 254).

The main difficulty in explaining change in terms of sound or semantic features lies in defining clearly the nature of the feature(s) on which the change appears to operate. This, I believe, is a crucial question, and there appears to be no simple answer to it at the moment.

Analogy is also regularly invoked to explain a number of otherwise puzzling morphological changes, e.g. analogical readjustment of plural forms in many Indo-European languages. Here analogy tends to wipe out the weak and infrequent formations. Thus viewed, it is a simplification. However, analogy does not always simplify patterns, it sometimes complicates them. In other words, it can be regulative as well as disruptive.

With regard to analogy in syntax, it is probably fair to say that even in diachronic linguistics where analogy is such a powerful explanatory tool, syntactic changes or patterns have rarely been explicated in

terms of analogy. This is possibly because changes in syntactic patterns are also rare. There are, however, a few syntactic patterns which seem to find a more persuasive explication in analogy than in any other explanation. I will refer here to two such cases, one pointed out by Akmajian (1970) and the other by Chomsky (1965).

In order to account for the agreement in person between the verb of the clause and the focus pronoun in cleft sentences of a particular dialect, Akmajian felt it proper to invoke analogy. In his Dialect III the following facts obtain:

- (10) a. It is I who  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{am} \\ *is \end{array} \right\}$  responsible.  
b. It is me who  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *am \\ is \end{array} \right\}$  responsible.

Starting from the assumption that 10b is derived from the pseudo-cleft "the one who is responsible is me", it is difficult to construct an acceptable pseudo-cleft from which 10a may be said to be derived since the following pseudo-cleft is unacceptable:

\*The one who am responsible is I.

Akmajian looked around and saw a parallel between 10a and 11a and 11b:

- (11) a. I, who  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{am} \\ *is \end{array} \right\}$  tall, was forced ...  
b. He had the nerve to say to me, who  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{has} \\ *have \end{array} \right\}$   
made him what he is today.

He therefore concludes that speakers of Dialect III derive 10a from the same pseudo-cleft as that from which 10b is derived, except that in forming 10a these speakers correct the agreement pattern by analogy to the appositive pattern since the two patterns are virtually identical in surface structure. His rule of agreement for appositive clauses runs as follows:

"When an appositive clause is associated with a pronoun marked for nominative case, there is a person agreement between the verb of the clause and the pronoun; however, when the appositive clause is associated with a pronoun marked for accusative case, there is no agreement, but rather the verb of the clause is consistently third person."

(pp. 153 - 155).

Chomsky (1965) distinguishes between "directly generated" strings and "derivatively generated" strings. The former refers to those strings that do not deviate at all. The latter refers to those strings which have some degree of deviance. The implication is that the latter class of sentences are analogically derived from the directly generated ones. He thus regards (2) below as analogically derived from (1) and claims that in (2) the speaker fails "to take notice of certain distinctions of grammaticalness".

(1) His criticising the book before he read it.

(2) His criticism of the book before he read it.

(2), according to Chomsky, violates only a low-level selectional restriction rule. That is why it is easy to give it an appropriate interpretation.

"Sentences that break selectional rules can often be interpreted metaphorically or allusively in one way or another, if an appropriate context of greater or lesser complexity is supplied. That is, these sentences are apparently interpreted by a direct analogy to well-formed sentences that observe the selectional rules in question". (p. 145).

Low-level selectional rules are often difficult to formulate because speakers differ as to the scope of application of such rules. For some English speakers (2) is perfectly acceptable. What right have we to consider (2) as ill-formed? Ill-formedness is in this case, and in many other cases, a relative concept. What is ill-formed for one person, may be well-formed for another; what is ill-formed at one stage of a language's evolution may be well-formed at another. Language change often begins as a violation of a selectional rule and ends up as an acceptable mode of speech - the associative paths of the human mind transcend linguistic frontiers!

Analogical rules are sometimes also called 'Let's Pretend' rules. That is, the structures on which such rules operate are said to pretend to be something else which normally occurs in that syntactic environment. One important feature or characteristic of such

analogical rules is that they always refer to an existing pattern, they never create new patterns, as is well expressed in the following quotation from G. Hankamer: (1972).

"One property of the device of 'Let's Pretend' rules as employed here is that a structure can only pretend to be like some other structure which actually exists in some other derivation; a 'Let's Pretend' rule cannot create a structure, it can only refer to existing structures". (p. 119)

I believe that the derivation of permuted sentences involves a 'Let's Pretend' type of rule at one stage of its derivational history, viz. at RP-deletion. That is, a Subject Relative Pronoun pretends to be an Object Relative Pronoun and therefore undergoes RP-deletion, an operation ordinarily reserved to Object Relative Pronouns in particular syntactic environments.

## 10.2 Analogical RP-deletion.

RP-deletion occurs as an optional rule in Kiluguru under the following structural conditions:

- (a) the RP refers to an NP whose grammatical function is not Subject.
- (b) the Verb to which the RP is attached stands immediately before a Predicate nominal which is coreferential with the RP.

RP-deletion in this sense can occur in both Question as well as Response-forms. In case of the latter,



further transformations are usually called for.

By analogical RP-deletion we mean the deletion of an RP that refers to an NP whose grammatical function is Subject (contrary to (a) above), but its syntactic environment is identical with that in which a non-Subject RP is normally deleted (i.e. (b) above) as in (25) and (26):

(25) Imwana ci-a-tul-ile iciya

Child RP-he-break-Perf pot

(26) Iciya ya - tul-ile imwana.

pot RP - break-Perf child.

It will be recalled that (25) and (26) are appropriate answers to questions (27) and (28) respectively:

(27) Imwana, ci - a-tul-ile cioni?

(28) Iciya, ya - tul-ile nani?

In (27) the RP may optionally be deleted; in (28) it may not, not even by way of analogy. This then is one environment in which analogical RP-deletion cannot apply. That is, when the Predicate nominal is an Interrogative Pronoun. In (25) the RP may also be deleted, provided that the Verb is subsequently transformed into Absolute form. The same holds for (26). The resultant constructions are (29) and (30):

(29) Imwana ka - tul - a ICIYA

(30) Iciya ci - tul - a IMWANA.

In both (29) and (30) the final NP is supposed to receive focus stress.

Consider now sentences (31) and (32) in which there

is no NP on the left of the Relative Pronoun:

(31) Ci - a - tul - ile iciya

RP - he - break-Perf pot

= What he broke was the pot.

(32) Ya - tul - ile imwana

RP - break-Perf child

= The one who broke (it) is the child.

(31) can undergo RP-deletion and all subsequent transformations. (32) however, cannot undergo RP deletion as indicated in (34):

(33) Ka - tul - a ICIYA

he - broke the pot

(34) \*(?) - tul - a IMWANA

Thus, unless there is an NP before the RP, more specifically, unless there is an NP serving as Direct Object of the Verb of the relative clause, analogical RP-deletion cannot be applied. This then, is the second environment in which analogical RP-deletion cannot apply.

#### 10.2.1 Disruptive effect of analogical RP-deletion.

As pointed out earlier, analogy can be both regulative and disruptive. The extension of RP-deletion from Object RP to Subject RP in specifiable environments has the simplificational effect of treating all RP's uniformly in so far as that particular environment is concerned. However, the operation has serious disruptive effects too. To understand the seriousness of the effect produced by analogical RP-deletion, we have to examine carefully the structure of sentences (31) and (32)

represented schematically in figures 43 and 44 below.

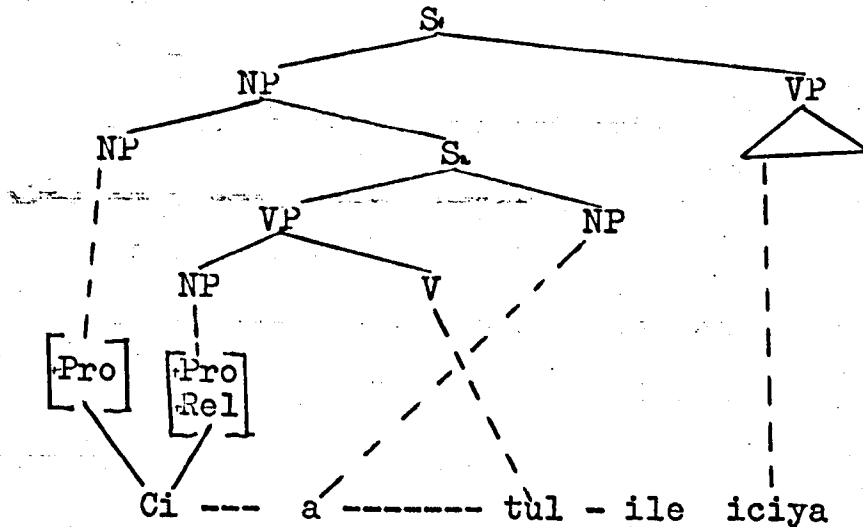


Figure 43.

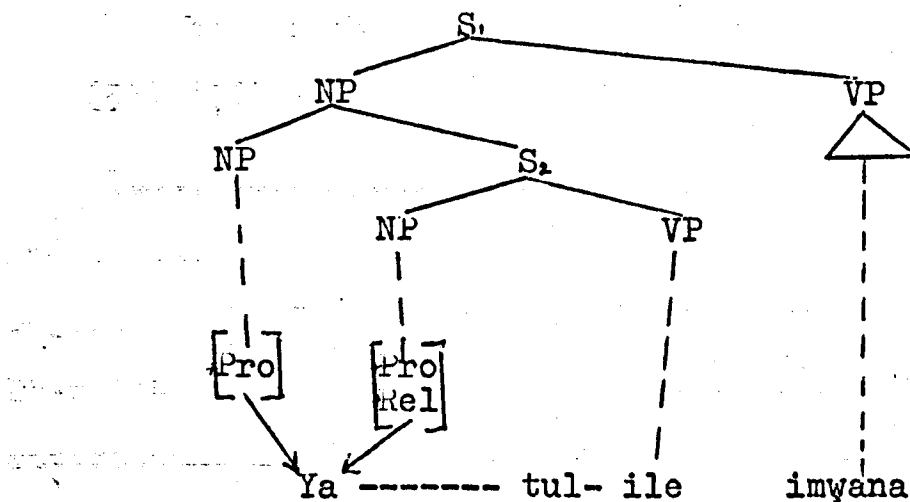


Figure 44.

By deleting RP in (31) (i.e. deleting CI-), one destroys both the headnoun of the Subject NP of the matrix sentence and the Pronominal Object of the embedded clause. The Subject Pronoun of the embedded clause remains intact. This Subject Pronoun, upon the "Raising" of the relative clause, serves as the Subject of the resultant superficially simple sentence. Admittedly, it takes on a different shape to conform to the Absolute-form of the Verb.

By deleting the RP in (32), both the headnoun of the Subject NP as well as the subject NP of the embedded Clause are destroyed. Further transformations are automatically blocked, because the resultant construction would have no Subject NP. This explains the ill-formedness of (34). If, however, there is a lexical NP, on the left of the RP, representing the Object of the embedded Clause, the situation can be salvaged by a curious kind of agreement operation, as in (30) above.

### 10.3 Subject-Verb Agreement rule.

A careful examination of the agreement system operating in (30) will reveal a unique situation. At one stage of its derivation (30) looked like the following tree:

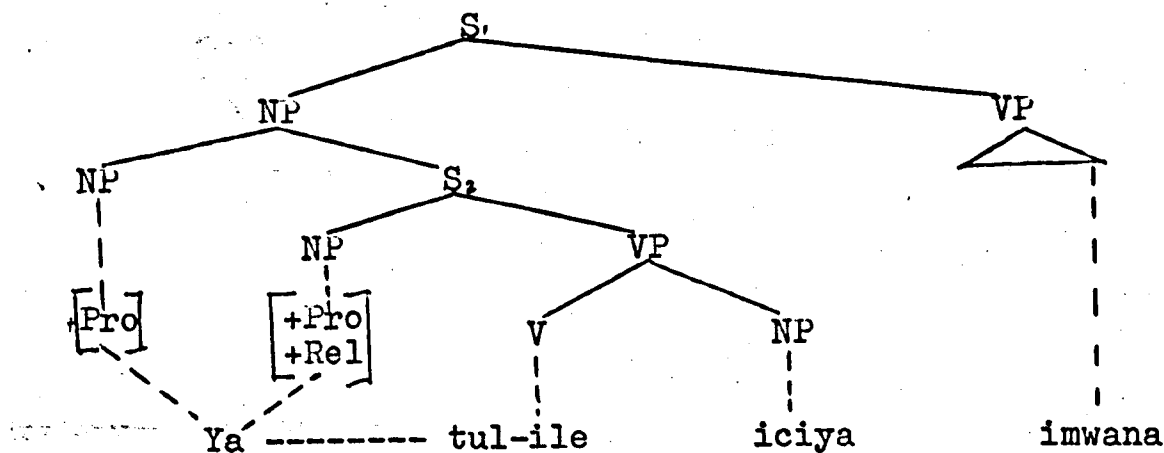


Figure 45.

Notice that "iciya" is object of the embedded clause. By the process of "Proximisation" the Verb of the embedded clause is brought immediately in front of the Predicate Nominal. The object of the embedded clause is therefore dislocated or moved to sentence-initial position, yielding something like (35).

(35) Iciya ya-tul-ile imwana

pot RP-break-Perf child

In the absence of the Lexical Object-NP 'iciya' from (35), analogical RP-deletion would result in a structure like (34) - which is ill-formed. With the presence of 'iciya' in (35) it is possible to derive (30) from (35) by allowing 'iciya' to extend its features by way of concord to the surface structure of the verb, much in the same way as a Subject NP is said to spread its features onto the verb in surface structure. (34) could be regarded as the intermediate stage of this uneasy derivation. If we present the sentence in its different stages we get the following line-up:

Figure 45: Ya-tul-ile iciya imwana (Pseudo-cleft)

RP-break-PERF pot child

(35) Iciya, ya-tul-ile IMWANA (Proximisation)

pot RP-break-PERF child

(34) Iciya, (?) -tul-a IMWANA (RP-deletion) etc.

pot break-PAST child

(30) Iciya ci-tul-a IMWANA (Agreement etc.)

pot break-PAST child.

The operation of concord in (30) is in many ways contrary to the ordinary rules of Subject-Verb agreement. Admittedly, though, nobody has so far been able to formulate the Subject-Verb agreement satisfactorily. Viewed in the most general terms, Subject-Verb agreement involves the copying of all or certain features of the Subject NP onto the Verb. Clearly, one of the first problems to be answered is what is to be understood by the concept of 'Subject' in this

context? It is customary to answer 'Surface' Subject, as opposed to deep or logical Subject. But what is 'Surface' Subject? The answer to this is bound to be circular. For there is no a priori means of determining 'Surface' Subject. Case Grammar<sup>22</sup> which provides a specific rule for Subject placement in Surface structure in terms of marked and unmarked selection from a hierarchy of Cases is better off here. Case Grammar, however, fails to provide a satisfactory mechanism for determining the Case Hierarchy. So the Subject placement rule is likewise handicapped by lack of firm guidance. Moreover, Case grammar has so far provided no explanation as to what determines Selection of Subject NP in a case-structure.

#### 10.3.1.

To understand the basis on which Agreement is determined in sentence (30) we have to ask ourselves three important questions regarding Subject-Verb Agreement in general:

- (i) At what level of derivation does agreement generally apply?
- (ii) Which NP must the Verb agree with in the final analysis?
- (iii) What properties of the Selected NP determine the appropriate form of agreement in the Verb?

Ad (i) It is generally assumed that Agreement-adjustments take place at a relatively late point in the derivation. Some maintain that 'agreement morphemes are inserted post-transformationally'

(e.g. Givon 1970). Formulations may differ in details, but the general view is basically the same, viz. the agreement 'morphemes' must be held back until fairly late in the derivation.

Ad (ii) It is also assumed that the verb will agree with that NP which is its subject at the time of inserting the agreement morphemes. This point is obscure. Some people have tried to clarify it by resorting to terms like Topic or the NP immediately preceding the Verb, etc. This circumlocution is intended to emphasize that it is not the deep Subject which necessarily controls grammatical agreement. Rather it is something called Surface Subject, which may or may not be identical with the deep Subject.

There is one aspect of this question which is always assumed, but rarely stated explicitly. I think there is a need for making it explicit here. At the point where Verb Agreement applies, the Verb and the NP it agrees with must be clause mates. That is to say that every finite Verb agrees with some NP in the lowest S containing that Verb. NP's outside that Clause are of no relevance to the operation of the rule. The possible usefulness of this aspect of the question will soon become clear.

Ad (iii) In Bantu languages it is generally agreed that the properties of the selected NP that determine the appropriate form of agreement are number and gender. No body disputes this.

We have already shown how Analogical RP-deletion

destroys the Subject Pronoun of both the matrix and the embedded clause. Since in Declaratives RP deletion is necessarily followed by Relative Clause 'Raising', we must assume that after analogical RP deletion the embedded string is elevated to produce something like sentence (34) above.

I would like to propose that in the light of the history of this sentence, i.e. its pseudo-cleft origin, (Ya-tul-ile iciya COP imwana), and in terms of the Clause-mate condition of agreement as stated in (ii) above, it might be said that predictably the Verb in (34) will agree in number and gender with ICIYA, because it is the only indisputable NP which is a clause-mate of the verb -tula-, (i.e. Iciya is Object of tula).

It must be remembered that this is a case of a desperate attempt by a language to re-adjust something that has already been set on the 'wrong' course. The non-deletability of the Subject RP was probably a safeguard against this kind of consequence. It is against such a background that one must view the agreement rule operating in (30). 'Imwana' could not be chosen for this function simply because at the time when agreement is required to take place 'Imwana' is not a clause-mate of 'tula'.

#### 10.4 Fake Subject.

The repair operation does not appear to proceed smoothly though. There are cases in which feature



spreading blocks. Consider the following sentences:

(31) Inuku ya - ŋ - gay - ile LUKOWO

hen RP-me - give-PERF LUKOWO

= It is Lukowo who gave me the hen.

(32) \* Inuku ka - ŋ - gay - a LUKOWO

hen AM - me- give- PAST LUKOWO

Compare (31) and (32) with (33) and (34):

(33) lkalamu ya - ŋ - gay - ile LUKOWO

Pencil RP - me- give- PERF Lukowo

(34) Ikalamu i - ŋ - gay - a Lukowo

Pencil AM - me-give-PAST Lukowo

Consider too (35) and (36):

(35) Wa - ŋuku ya - ŋ - gay - ile Lukowo

hen(plur) RP - me-give - PERF Lukowo

(36) Wa - ŋuku wa - ŋ - gay - a Lukowo

hen(pl.) AM - me-give- PAST Lukowo

The purpose of these examples is to try to account for the non-acceptability of (32). Plurality is the only feature that distinguishes (35) from (31). Yet analogical RP deletion is possible in (35), but not acceptable in (31) - hence, the well-formedness of (36) and ill-formedness of (32). Why is (32) unacceptable? Notice that the nouns involved in (31) and (32) are both animate nouns, belonging to Class 1. In view of this, I can, at the moment, see two possible ways of accounting for the non-acceptability of (32):

(i) Capitalizing on ambiguity

As can be seen from the Table of Agreement markers on page 87, nouns of class 1 are the only nouns that have different markers for Subject and Object

agreement. The Subject agreement marker is ka- and the Object agreement marker is -mu-. In all other Classes of nouns, the Subject and Object agreement markers are identical in form. Since the NP that spreads agreement features onto the verb in permuted sentences is in fact, OBJECT, it could be argued that the agreement marker found in these sentences is a "double agent": it is an Object marker masquerading as a Subject marker. For it is only those forms which can be used as Subject as well as Object markers that are acceptable for this role. Ka- therefore, is not a suitable candidate for this role, because it can only be used as a Subject marker; -mu- likewise, is unsuitable because it can only be used as an Object marker.

It thus looks as if in the derivation of permuted sentences Kiluguru capitalizes on the ambiguity of the agreement marker. Thus in (34) and other sentences like it, the agreement marker is subject to both SUBJECT as well as OBJECT interpretation.

If this hypothesis is correct, then the NP from which the verb takes agreement in permuted sentences cannot properly be called SUBJECT. I would, therefore, propose that it be called 'Fake' Subject in order to distinguish it from what is ordinarily called "Surface" Subject.

(ii) Guarding against ambiguity.

It could also be argued that the rejection of (32) and similar sentences involving two animate nouns is a safeguard against ambiguity. For in sentences like (32), the left-hand NP might be given a normal Subject

interpretation, since the Subject position in sentences with goal-directed verbs is often biased in favour of agency nouns. No class of nouns is better equipped for such a role than animate nouns. When two animate nouns are involved as Subject and Object within the same clause, the chances are that the noun on the left of the verb will be given logical Subject interpretation. This is precisely what permuted sentences must avoid at all costs.

This explanation is not as far-fetched as it might seem at first sight. We saw in Chapter Six that Object relativization is studiously avoided whenever the Subject and Object of the relative clause are both animate nouns. This is because the resulting structure would be ambiguous (see 6.2.). It should be noted that the structure of an Object Relative Clause is similar to that of a Permuted Sentence i.e. Object - Verb - Subject, as shown below:

	OBJECT	-	VERB	-	SUBJECT
(37)	Iciya	( ci-	tul-ile		Lukowo)
	RP		broke		Lukowo
	the pot	(which Lukowo broke ...)			
(38)	Iciya		ci-tula		Lukowo
	pot		broke		Lukowo
	The one who broke the pot is Lukowo.				

#### Tense Restriction.

There appears to be some restriction on the tense of the verb which may occur in a permuted sentence. The Past or Perfective tense is the only tense that is readily accepted.

Before closing this part of the discussion, I should point out that although the construction discussed in the last six chapters occurs in many Bantu languages as indicated in Chapter Five, the conclusions reached here are meant to apply to Kiluguru only. I make no claims about other Bantu languages, although it would be nice if evidence from other languages supported my hypothesis.

PART THREE: CONCLUSION.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

FOCUS AND RELATED CONCEPTS.

Sentences with permuted Subject and Object were, in Part Two, shown to be derivations arising from the placement of focal emphasis on the Subject. Starting from the observation that focal emphasis calls for pseudo-clefting in Kiluguru, we demonstrated, with numerous examples, the various stages these structures must be put through before finally assuming their permuted form. We have, in effect, suggested that permutation (as understood in the context of this study) is a syntactic device regularly and selectively used in Kiluguru to convey what has been called 'thematic' or 'Rhetorical' meaning by Leech (1974) and Katz (1972) respectively.

Part Three purports to explore briefly another aspect of Kiluguru syntax where something closely related to focus, namely 'nuclear stress', appears to play a major part in determining the form in which a sentence can occur in surface structure. This exploration arose from reflecting upon one particular aspect of the construction studied in Part Two, namely the obligatory transformation of the verb from relative to absolute form, after RP-deletion, in declarative sentences. This phenomenon seems to point to a fundamental aspect of the organisation of a Kiluguru sentence. It will be argued that the phenomenon is a reflection of constraints governing the distribution and realization of nuclear stress in a declarative sentence. It will

also be argued that the parallel distinctions of Absolute/Relative verb form and Double/Single negative marker can be explicated in terms of distribution and realization of declarative 'nuclear stress' (or Assertive operator).<sup>1</sup> Our exploration here will necessarily be brief and tentative, since the phenomena involved have many ramifications which have yet to be explored. We begin by looking at the sentence as a communicative unit.

### 11.1 Binary segmentation.

It has long been recognised that besides the ordinary binary segmentation of a sentence into SUBJECT and PREDICATE (i.e. S-NP + VP), providing the basis for the cognitive or representational reading of the sentence, there may be another level of segmentation, also binary, providing the basis for the thematic reading of the sentence without in any sense destroying or altering substantially the cognitive reading of the sentence. It has also been recognised that the latter type of segmentation is signalled either by varying word order, with or without further trappings, or by stress-contour, or by both. Languages differ as to which device tends to be employed most regularly.

Throughout the history of grammatical studies there have been attempts to develop an approach to Grammar which took into account not only cognitive meaning, but also thematic and other meanings deductible from the regularly used syntactic devices of a language. The rise of TG, with the subsequent restriction of meaning to cognitive meaning has until recently positively

discouraged research into other areas of meaning regularly conveyed by determinable syntactic devices. TG's denial, in the mid-sixties, of the ability of surface structure to make meaningful contributions to the interpretations of sentences was to a large extent motivated by the desire to preserve the semantic neutrality of Transformations. Today it is no longer seriously denied that surface structure has something to contribute to semantic interpretation. The controversy now, as I understand it, is how to distinguish meaning determined in deep structure and that determinable in surface structure. This controversy is further complicated by the age-old question of 'What is meaning'.

Whatever definition of meaning one chooses to adopt, it seems to me important to recognise that, insofar as language is concerned, meaning pervades all aspects of it.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the question now ought to be "What aspect of meaning is a particular aspect of language best equipped to convey?" Naturally, propositional meaning will occupy a special place in any treatment of meaning. This is because propositional meaning comes closest to representing man's thought processes.<sup>3</sup> It is no wonder then that TG has concentrated on this aspect of meaning to the exclusion of the rest, since one of the primary objectives of the TG approach is to attempt to find a sensible way of correlating language and mind, as expressed in Chomsky (1972), by proceeding from the form of the output (language) to the inherent principles of organisation (mind) that determine the form of the output.

Sandmann (1954), who discusses, among other things, the significance of word order and stress, emphasizes that in order to arrive at an adequate interpretation of a sentence, it is necessary to proceed through a three-stage process of interpretation. He demonstrates his point by showing how the following Latin sentence should progressively be interpreted:

(I) FORTES FORTUNA ADIOUVAT

(the strong fortune helps)

Stage I: Interpretation based on the representational picture of the transitivity relations obtaining between the elements of the sentence: Actor - action - thing(s) acted upon.

"Fortune favours the brave".

Stage 2: Interpretation based on word order and stress takes note of the marked position of 'fortes' plus the contrastive stress placed on it thereby. This, observes Sandmann, indicates that 'fortes' is not only a positive value in this sentence, but it also serves to exclude its logical contrary. This yields a more revealing interpretation: "Fortune favours the brave, not the coward".

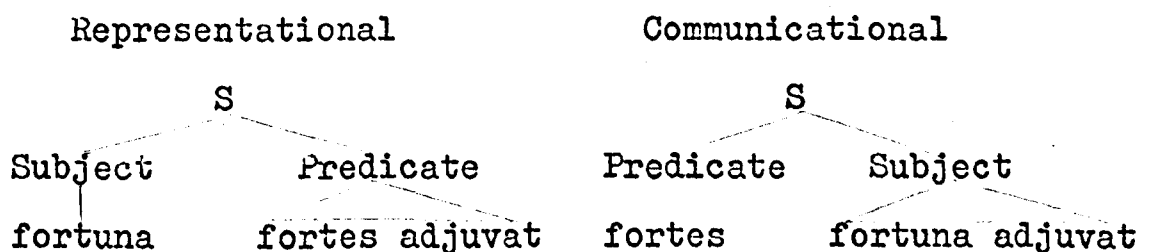
Stage 3: Interpretation based on the circumstances in which the saying is often used. This will reveal that the sentence does not represent a statement of fact, but a hypothesis equivalent to: "If you wish



to be favoured by fortune, you must be brave, not cowardly".

The last interpretation presupposes knowledge of extra-linguistic factors such as customs, practices and beliefs of the Romans. It may, therefore, be described as linguistically inaccessible. The first and second interpretations, however, are linguistically accessible, i.e. can be grasped with ease by anyone familiar with the rules of Latin, even if he has no knowledge of Roman customs, practices and beliefs. It would therefore seem proper to regard these readings as predicted by the syntactic devices of the language. Such devices therefore, constitute a proper object of grammatical study.

Binary segmentation on 'Fortes fortuna adjuvat' at the representational level would claim that 'fortuna' is subject of the sentence and 'fortes adjuvat' Predicate of the sentence. Binary segmentation at the communication level, however, would represent 'fortuna adjuvat' as subject of the sentence and 'fortes' as Predicate. Thus the two approaches make almost opposed claims:



The use of the terms 'Subject' and 'Predicate' to refer to categories of different levels of segmentation is understandably confusing. In recent years the two segments into which a sentence can be divided at the communicational level have come to be referred<sup>to</sup> as FOCUS

and PRESUPPOSITION. There are, however, other terms used at different times by various schools of linguists to refer to concepts analogous to presupposition and focus:

(i) Topic - Comment:

The Topic/Comment distinction was introduced by Hockett (1958) to characterize the binary segmentation of a sentence as a communicative unit.

"The most general characterization of predicative constructions is suggested by the terms 'topic' and 'comment': the speaker announces the topic and then says something about it".(p. 201)

In this system the comment may be said to correspond to focus. However, it must be pointed out that the Topic/Comment distinction has traditionally been unclearly defined. Topic has often been confused with Subject. This is mainly because in many languages Topic often coincides with the representational Subject of the sentence. In the following Kiluguru sentence, for example, it is possible to regard the first NP (i.e. the Subject) as Topic in one reading, and non-Topic in the other.

(2) Ikalamu igua hasi.

The pencil fell down.

	<u>Topic</u>	<u>Comment</u>
Reading <sub>a</sub> (3):	Ikalamu	igua hasi
Reading <sub>b</sub> (4):	(Existential)	Ikalamu igua hasi.
The second reading would be an appropriate answer to the question: What happened? The first reading would be an appropriate answer to the question: 'What happened to the pencil'? Unless such tests are used as a basis for making		

the Topic/Comment distinction it is difficult to see how one can talk of Topic/Comment as a useful distinction in the analysis of sentences as units of communication.

(ii) Theme-Rheme:

The Prague School has for a long time used the terms Theme/Rheme to characterize the segmentation of the sentence as a communicative unit. Despite subtle differences of opinion regarding what exactly these terms stand for, there is no disagreement on the need for adopting a functional or communicational approach to sentence analysis. For Mathesius<sup>(1939)</sup>, for example, theme is 'that which is known or at least obvious in the given situation, and from which the speaker proceeds'. For Travnicek<sup>(1962)</sup>, however, theme is described as 'that sentence element which links up directly with the object of thought, proceeds from it and opens the sentence thereby'. The former definition appears to lay particular emphasis on 'givenness'; the latter seems to suggest that such givenness must be rooted in the mind of the speaker. In neither do we find a clear-cut syntactic guidance on how to distinguish 'theme' from 'rheme', although both proposals appear to suggest that 'theme' must occupy sentence initial position. Not satisfied with either, Firbas (1964) attempted to provide a more subtle description of theme by using the concept of 'degree of communicative' dynamism. He suggests that theme is the element with the lowest degree of communicative dynamism in the sentence. This element need not occupy first position as each of the previous definitions appears to

suggest.

"Any element already mentioned in the preceding context normally conveys the lowest amount of Communicative dynamism within a sentence, irrespective of the position occupied by it. Thus in He wanted to please Mary, Mary will be rhematic or thematic according to whether it has or has not been mentioned in the preceding context." ( Firbas (1966) p. 240)

This description of theme/rheme comes closest to what we understand by the presupposition/focus-distinction. The concept of communicative dynamism often finds phonological correlates in the rules of sentence-stress placement insofar as rheme or focus tends to be given special vocal prominence.

The place of theme/rheme in the structure of language was clearly expressed by another scholar of the Prague School, F. Danes (1964) in an article called 'A three-level approach to Syntax', in which he puts forward a view which sees language as functioning with a tripartite structure: the semantic, the grammatical and the organizational levels. 'The organizational level of an utterance 'makes it possible to understand how the semantic and the grammatical structures function in the very act of communication'. Far from being considered peripheral and insignificant, the organizational level (where 'theme' belongs) is acknowledged to contribute significantly to the interpretation of a sentence.

(iii) Given - New.

The Given/New distinction is accredited to Halliday whose Grammatical Theory explicitly recognizes theme as one of the three dimensions of language organization. The other two are Transitivity and Mood.

"Transitivity is the Grammar of experience,  
Mood is the Grammar of speech function and  
Theme is the Grammar of discourse". (Halliday 1967  
p.199)

Each of these dimensions makes a unique contribution to interpretation. The Grammar of experience, as I understand it, is chiefly concerned with the way human beings classify and convey their experience of the world through language. This, I presume, is what Whiteley (1972) had in mind when he described the permuted sentence as counter-experiential. Halliday's Grammar of experience would probably be identical with what Searle (1969) calls 'propositional content' or what Seuren (1969) calls the 'Nucleus of the sentence'. In essence, it is that part of language in which cognitive meaning is structured.

The grammar of speech function (mood) refers to the performative aspect of language or speech acts, such as: making statements, asking, ordering, etc. This aspect of language ought clearly to be distinguished from the grammar of experience, because the same reference can occur in the performance of completely different speech acts.

e.g. (5) Lukowo kaosoma ibalua: STATEMENT

Lukowo is reading the letter.

(6) Lukowo koosoma ibalua? QUESTION

Is Lukowo reading the letter?

(7) Lukowo, soma ibalua. COMMAND

Lukowo, read the letter.

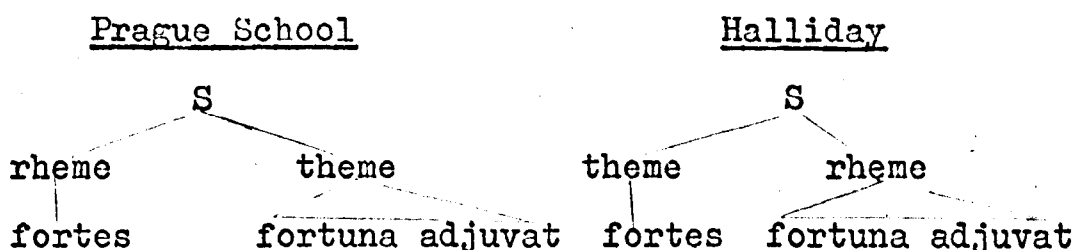
(8) Lukowo, usome ibalua REQUEST

Lukowo, please read the letter.

Although there are obvious differences between these sentences, such as difference of time and person, there is no doubt that in uttering any of them, the speaker refers to the same actor - action - thing acted upon. It seems to me to be counter-intuitive not to attempt to relate these sentences systematically as is implied by Katz and Postal's (1964) treatment of questions and imperatives. If Q, Imp. etc. are assigned constituency in deep structure then one is bound to fail to capture one of the most elementary intuitions of speakers, viz. the constant propositional content of various sentence types. Katz and Postal were trying to account for the fact that Q, Imp., etc. transformations, as proposed in Chomsky Syntactic Structures (1957), involved a change of meaning inasmuch as a question and its corresponding statement are different in meaning. They proposed to introduce these features or constituents into the underlying structure, so that the difference in meaning was accounted for in terms of difference of deep structure. But this solution seems to cost a great deal more than an alternative solution which acknowledges that the aspect of meaning introduced by Transformations like Q, Imp., etc. is qualitatively different from the aspect of meaning that Transformations are supposed to preserve,

namely, Conceptual or propositional meaning.

In the grammar of discourse, Halliday proposes the Clause to be the basic unit of discourse and distinguishes within it two systems of structural contrasts: Theme/rheme and Given/New. The theme/rheme distinction as used by Halliday is totally different from the theme/rheme distinction as understood by the Prague School. Theme for Halliday represents the speaker's deliberate choice to start the clause in a particular way, regardless of whether the initial phrase contains new or old information. In other words, theme can easily coincide with New information in Halliday's system. For the Prague School, however, this would be unthinkable since according to their analysis theme always carries the lowest degree of communicative dynamism and cannot convey new information. The difference can best be illustrated by a comparative analysis of the Latin sentence quoted earlier:



Notice that in both cases 'fortes' represents new information. Yet the same element is 'rheme' in one system and 'theme' in the other. Halliday's theme/rheme distinction is thus a purely linear exercise: the major constituent that comes first in a sentence is the theme and the rest is rheme.

Complementary to the theme/rheme distinction is the Given/New distinction which is in many ways identical with the presupposition/focus distinction. It is

Halliday's given/new distinction too, which parallels the theme/rheme distinction of the Prague School and Hockett's topic/comment. The Given/New distinction as discussed by Halliday is more refined than we are able to describe here. The Given/New determination is bound up with the tone-group as an information unit. Within this information unit one can identify what is given and what is new. It is sometimes possible to find two information units within one clause in English. Thus the following sentence could be regarded as containing two information units marked by two stress peaks:

(9) He SHOULDN'T have done THAT  
Given NEW Given NEW

Illustrated most clearly in this example is the disparity between phonological constituency and grammatical constituency. Informational units, unlike grammatical units or constituents, are often co-extensive with phonological units.

## 11.2 Presupposition and focus.

The term presupposition has come to stand for various things among linguists. In spite of its vagueness it is regarded by a number of scholars as an important and useful tool for explicating a variety of sentence phenomena. Thus Fillmore (1969) ascribes the choice between verbs of judging, such as accuse, blame, criticize, etc. to difference in presupposition.<sup>4</sup> Robin Lakoff (1969) in attempting to explain why there can't be a some-any<sup>Rule</sup> in English offers presupposition as the



determining factor:

"Something that is present only at the most abstract levels of grammar must play a part in determining the form which surface structure must take ... when some is used, the presupposition is necessarily positive; when any appears, it may be negative or neutral". (p.612.)

George Lakoff (1969) has even suggested that presupposition is an essential part of 'competence', and maintains that the well-formedness of a sentence must be gauged against the background of its presupposition. He insistently argues in favour of the notion of relative-formedness as against that of strict well-formedness advocated by Chomsky:

"Given a sentence, S, and a set of presupposition, PR, we will say, in such instances, that S is well-formed only relative to PR". (Steinberg p.329) He goes on to say:

"A speaker will make certain judgements about the well-formedness or ill-formedness of S which will vary with his extra-linguistic knowledge. If the presuppositions of PR do not accord with his factual knowledge, cultural background, or belief about the world, then he may judge S to be 'odd', 'strange', 'deviant', 'ungrammatical' or simply ill-formed relative to his own presuppositions about the nature of the world". ( same p. 331 - 332).

Here Lakoff is, I think, using the term presupposition in its widest possible meaning.

McCawley (1969) makes an analogous point when, in discussing pronouns as part of the indexical system of language, he says:

"Indices exist in the mind of the speaker rather than in the real world: they are conceptual entities which the individual creates in interpreting his experience ... and the noun phrases which speakers use fulfil a function comparable to that of postulates and definitions in mathematics: they state properties which the speaker assumes to be possessed by the conceptual entities involved in what he is saying".

(Steinberg pp. 223 - 224)

Kiparsky (1970) is another scholar who has attempted to utilize the concept of presupposition in order to account for choice of complement types. He asserts that the speaker's presupposition that the complement of the sentence expresses a true proposition "contributes in several important ways to determining the syntactic form in which the complement can appear in surface structure". (Steinberg p. 345).

It is generally agreed that presupposition is primarily a semantic concept. Its usefulness in accounting for certain idiosyncracies in syntax is generally recognised even by those who would like to see a fairly strict separation between syntax and semantics.

One main problem with working with a vague concept like presupposition, is that one does not know where to draw the boundaries. There is a danger of trying to explain everything in terms of presupposition, while failing to define what presupposition really means. In order to make the concept of presupposition useful in language description, it is, perhaps, better to attempt to keep it within manageable bounds by trying to find its demonstrable regular syntactic correlates in each language. Leech (1974) claims that there exists a sturdy principle capable of accounting for at least a significant proportion of instances of presupposition in language. He calls it the principle of downgrading, which he formulates in the following way:

Rule of Presupposition: If a predication X contains within it (either directly or indirectly) a downgraded predication Y, then X presupposes Y<sub>1</sub> (where Y<sub>1</sub> is an independent assertion equivalent to Y). (p. 296).

He notes that downgraded predications often find syntactic expression in relative clauses, as well as other syntactic and lexical manifestations such as: adjectives, prepositional phrases, adverbial nouns, etc. Leech gives several examples to illustrate his point. Here are some of them:

(i) The Governor of Idaho is currently in London.

Presupposes: Idaho has a Governor.

(ii) What annoyed me was his hypocrisy.

Presupposes: Something annoyed me.

(iii) I wonder where they stole the car.

Presupposes: Stole the car somewhere.

(iv) He was Arsenal's captain when it was the best team in the country.

Presupposes: Arsenal was the best team in the country (at some time).

(v) John knows that we are helping him.

Presupposes: We are helping him.

The difficulty with Leech's proposal lies in finding a satisfactory definition of a downgraded predication. As he himself admits "downgraded predications manifest themselves in various, and sometime obscure, ways".

For our purposes here we will adopt a concept of presupposition which is relatively modest viz. focal presupposition. Focal presupposition refers to that structural background against which the focus stands out. We will follow Chomsky (1971) and Jackendoff (1972) in trying to explore this concept and <sup>we will explore</sup> its relevance to Kiluguru structure.

Chomsky (1971) argues that the focus is always the constituent containing the stress maximum of the sentence. He argues his point in terms of Questions and their natural responses, using the following examples:

42. (a) does John write poetry in his STUDY?

(b) is it in his STUDY that John writes poetry?

Resp.(c) John doesn't write poetry in his STUDY.

Resp.(d) it isn't in his STUDY that John writes poetry.

Alternatively:

43. No, John writes poetry in the GARDEN.

"The sentences of (42) have focus 'study' (or 'in his study') and express the presupposition that John writes poetry somewhere, a presupposition also expressed in the normal response (43)". (Steinberg p.200).

What makes Chomsky's analysis particularly interesting is his concept of variable which he sees as connected with the presupposition/focus distinction. He believes that the presupposition contains in some way, certain features of the focus.

"The focus is the phrase containing the information center, and the presupposition is determined by replacement of the focus by a variable".

Underlying this assertion is the assumption that somehow focus and presupposition are related to each other like two components of an equative expression. Chomsky did not formulate the precise way in which this equation should be represented. He however, indicated that the variable is a kind of indefinite pronoun. Jackendoff (1972) provides a tentative formulation of the relationship of presupposition to focus. Starting from a rule called Focus Assignment, which is an instruction to give prominence to a particular element in the sentence, one is advised to proceed thus:

"To derive the presupposition, substitute appropriate semantic variables for the focused material (p.240). The variable must be chosen in such a way that it defines a coherent class of possible contrasts with the focus, pieces

of information that could equally well have taken the place of the focus in the sentence, within bounds established by the language, the discourse and the external situation". (p. 243).

The variable has minimal semantic import. Its main function is to define a semantic class to which the focus belongs. Enlarging on the concept of appropriateness of the variable, Jackendoff says in a footnote: "We can actually think of the focus as consisting of only those semantic markers which are not contained in the variable". (p. 243).

It will be recalled from our discussion of pseudo-clefting in Kiluguru that focal emphasis always involves the placement of the constituent emphasized in sentence final position and the reduction of the remaining structure into a relative clause, so that a Relative clause and Predicate structure results. The relative clause will always contain a relative pronoun with an incorporated antecedent, like the English 'what'. This relative pronoun represents the semantic variable that corresponds to the focus.

(10) PRESUPPOSITION + FOCUS

Ya - som - ile icitabu Lukowo

RP - read -Perf - book - Lukowo

Variable focus.

It would be misleading to say that the focus and variable are absolutely identical, because the variable is usually broader in semantic scope than the focus.

The focus is only an instantiation of what the variable stands for. This can best be explicated in terms of what Leech (1974) calls the rule of attribution, which 'equates a component with a downgraded one-place predication in which that component constitutes the predicate'. (p. 278). Leech further observes that every single feature within an argument is potentially associated with a presupposition.<sup>5</sup> In focusing it is the most broadly inclusive feature of the argument that is represented by the variable. Thus in the case of a sentence like (9):

Lukowo	ka - soma	icitabu
Lukowo		icitabu
+ animate		- animate
+ human		
+ male		+ solid
+ proper		+ legible

each of the arguments is associated with a number of features which are potentially present whenever the word representing the argument is normally used. What happens in focusing is that the features of the argument are split in such a way that the minimally informative feature is contained in the presupposition as a variable; thus in example (9) the features of Lukowo would split in the following way:

PRESUPPOSITION	FOCUS
Ya - som - ile	Lukowo
	+animate
+ animate	+ human
	+ male
	+ proper

Similarly, when the focus is on the second argument the features of 'icitabu' are split in such a way that the minimally informative feature, i.e. the most comprehensive feature, forms the variable:

PRESUPPOSITION	FOCUS
Ci - som - ile Lukowo	ICITABU
RP - read- Perf Lukowo	book.
	- animate
	+ solid
- animate	+ legible

However, it is not always the case that a focused constituent will be represented by an overt variable in the presupposition. Focus on the verb, for example, does not produce an overt variable in the presupposition.

PRESUPPOSITION	FOCUS
Lukowo icitabu	Kasoma
Lukowo book	read
= What Lukowo did with the book was read it.	

The absence of an overt variable in the presupposition here may be explained in terms of the nature of overt variables. An overt variable in Kiluguru must be attached to the verb. Since the presupposition contains no verb, it follows that an overt variable cannot be accommodated.

Yet it is necessary to postulate the presence of an underlying variable which could perhaps be paraphrased as:

"the relationship between Lukowo and icitabu is ...".

Among the semantic features of the verb 'soma' that would be contained in the presupposition are:

- + predicative
- + transitive



These two are the minimally informative features of the verb 'soma'.

The formalization proposed by Jackendoff for deriving the semantic representation of focus envisages three stages of derivation (see Jackendoff 1972, p.245):

(i) A rule of focus assignment "derives two formal objects from the otherwise determined semantic representation (SR) of a sentence (S). The first object - the focus - consists of that semantic material associated with surface structure nodes dominated by the marker F. The second object is a one-place predicate, Presupp. (X), formed by replacing the Focus by an appropriate variable in SR".

In the case of our example given above, "Lukowo kasoma icitabu", when Lukowo is assigned focal emphasis, the situation is equivalent to the following notation:

The (someone read the book) is X.

(ii) From this is constructed another formal object called by Jackendoff the presuppositional set. The presuppositional set is defined as "the set of values which, when substituted for X in pressupps. (X), yield a true proposition".

In our case anything with the feature ANIMATE can be substituted for 'someone' and yield a true proposition. Jackendoff chooses to use the lambda notation to express this state of affairs, i.e. the set of values, in the following way:

$$\lambda X \text{ Presupps (X)} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{is a coherent set} \\ \text{is well defined} \\ \text{is under discussion} \end{array} \right\}$$

Note: I have here combined Jackendoff's step two with part of his step three, i.e. the presuppositional set and the presuppositional form.

Applied to our sentence the result would look something like the following representation:

$\lambda X$  (the (someone read the book) is  $X$ ) is  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a coherent set} \\ \text{well formed} \\ \text{under discussion} \end{array} \right\}$

In other words, one claims here that it is not nonsensical to talk of 'someone reading the book' because there are members who can satisfy the requirements of the expression, i.e. who can satisfy the presuppositional function.

(iii) The third step is to construct an assertion in which FOCUS is identified as a member of the presupposition set. This is expressed by the following notation:

FOCUS  $E\lambda X$  presupps. ( $X$ )  
i.e. Lukowo  $E\lambda X$  [the (someone read the book)  
is  $X$ ]

This representation claims that "Lukowo is the one member of animates who read the book".

### 11.3 Attraction of verb to focus.

It is generally the case that the verb takes a different form depending on whether it falls within the presupposed part of the proposition or within the focused one. In the latter case, the verb takes the absolute form, while in former case, it takes non-absolute form. When it takes the non-absolute form (i.e. when it is within the

presupposed part of the proposition), it also carries an overt variable which is coreferential with the focused constituent. This variable is the syntactic basis for the resultant equative expression in which the COPULA is the binder. The crucial element which sustains the syntactic equation is the variable, round which all the non-focused elements of the proposition seem to cluster.

Under certain conditions, as indicated earlier, the variable, in the form of a Relative Pronoun incorporating an antecedent, may be deleted. The effect of the deletion is to weaken the equation and remove the syntactic barrier between the presupposed and focused constituents of the preposition. This process was discussed in Chapter Nine and may be summarized thus:

PRESUPPOSED	FOCUSED
(11) <u>Ci</u> -som-ile Lukowo COP	<u>icitabu</u> (Pseudo-cleft)
(12) Lukowo <u>gi</u> -a-som-ile COP	<u>icitabu</u> (Proximity)
(13) Lukowo a-som-ile	<u>icitabu</u> (RP-deletion)
(14) Lukowo ka-som-a	<u>icitabu</u> (Absolutization)

Unless one knows the derivational history of (14), it is impossible to tell whether in this sentence it is the object or the VP that is the focused constituent. Sentence (14) by itself is therefore ambiguous. The source of the ambiguity is the absolute form of the verb. It is not clear whether this absolute form is the direct result of the verb being part and parcel of the focus constituent, say in answer to the question "What did Lukowo do?" or is the result of a verb belonging to the presupposed component being attracted to Focus as a result

of RP (or variable) deletion. Such would be the case with sentence (14), since in the context of its history above it answers the question "What did Lukowo read?".

We should, therefore, distinguish Absolute verb forms that are absolute because they form part of the focus constituent and those which assume the absolute form because of being attracted to the focused constituent.

- (15) Lukowo Kabena ikalamu  
= Lukowo BROKE THE PENCIL.

- (16) Lukowo kabena ikalamu  
= Lukowo broke THE PENCIL.

The real cause of this ambiguity lies in the Kiluguru rules of sentence stress placement. It would appear that the absolute form of a verb always carries inherent nuclear stress and the stress seems to extend to the noun phrase immediately after the verb. More specially, it appears to me that Kiluguru has a verb-centred system of stress placement. Nuclear stress occurs only in two places:

- (a) the Predicate nominal. (Nuclear stress falls on the equational 'be').
- (b) the Absolute verb form.

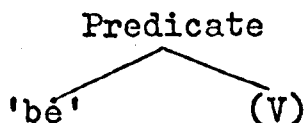
The two systems are in complementary distribution. The Predicate nominal cannot co-occur with the Absolute form of the verb nor vice versa.

This observation explains a number of things in Kiluguru structure.

- (i) It explains why in pseudo-clefting the verb must undergo a change of form. Pseudo-clefting by its very nature places nuclear stresses on the predicate nominal.

It is not possible to have two nuclear stresses within the same sentence.<sup>6</sup> As the Absolute form of the verb carries inherent stress it must automatically be deprived of this nuclear stress. One might be inclined to postulate here the presence of a covert 'be' (copula) within the Absolute form of the verb, which gets transferred to the Predicate nominal in pseudo-clefting. The question that must then be faced is 'what is the nature and function of this kind of 'BE'?' This 'BE' must not be confused with the ordinary Copula, although the two may co-exist, e.g. in predicate nominals.<sup>7</sup>

Accordingly, one could argue that underlying every Absolute form of the verb is a complex structure of the following form:



The V without 'be' would yield a non-absolute form of the verb. Such a form can never be used to form a declarative sentence. This approach has many things going for it:

(a) It places the non-absolute form of the verb on the same footing as the adjective;

(b) It explains why Adjectives and Relative Clauses are so similar in Kiluguru. Consider the following sentences:

(17) Imwana mutamu (SUBJECT + COP. + ADJ.)

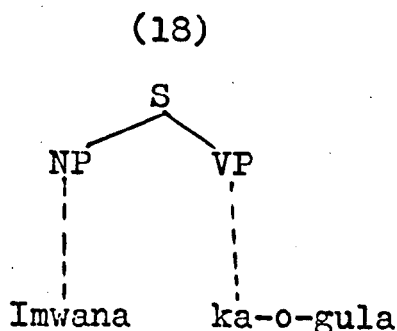
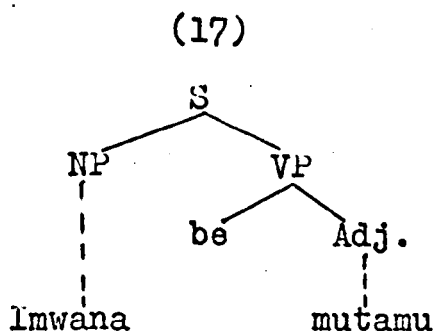
The child is sick.

(18) Imwana ka - o - gula (SUBJECT + VERB intr.)

The child is sick.

The difference between (17) and (18) is shown in the

following diagrams:



When these sentences are converted into attributive expressions, the following phrases are obtained:

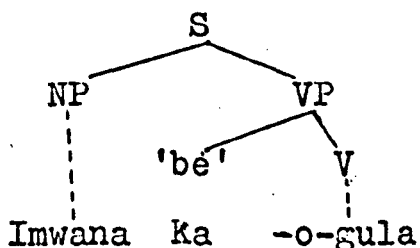
(19) Imwana i - mutamu (NP + ADJ!)

The child who is sick ...

(20) Imwana i - o - gula ... (NP + Rel.)

The child who is sick ...

'Mutamu' and 'ogula' seem to be in parallel relationship, except that 'ogula' has built into it a tense marker 'O', indicating Progressiveness.<sup>8</sup> What I am suggesting is that just as adjectives can be used predicatively as well as attributively, so too verbs can be used predicatively as well as attributively and that the two categories are closely related in structure in Kiluguru. Thus I would claim that (18) should be represented as:



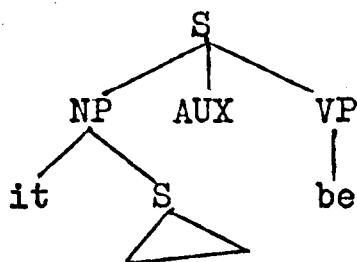
That is to say, the CV-verbal concord, as opposed to V-verbal concord, is an exponent of Assertion or Affirmation.

This 'be' is more than a simple 'copula'. It is Assertive 'BE' of the type proposed by the Port-Royal grammarians, who maintained that a declarative verb contains implicitly an underlying copula as the following

quotation from Chomsky (1966) explains:

"What the Port Royal Grammarians are maintaining is that the deep structure underlying a sentence such as 'Peter lives' or 'God loves mankind' contains a copula, expressing the affirmation and a predicate (living, loving mankind) attributed to the subject of the proposition. Verbs constitute a subcategory of predicates: they are subject to a transformation that causes them to coalesce with the copula into a single word." (p. 43).

A similar view has recently been echoed by I.R. Hurford in his paper: 'Deriving S from S + IS' (1973) in which he proposes to derive surface S from something like the following structure:



He thus postulates a form of 'be' as the verb of an underlying matrix sentence. He also emphasizes that this 'be' should be interpreted as 'be a fact' rather than a bare 'be'.

It is inelegant, in my view, to keep referring to two types of BE, i.e. copula BE and a Declarative BE. Since the two are realized differently in surface structure, it might be useful to refer to them by different names. Declarative BE, for example, could

better be called "the assertive operator" (AO). I believe with Seuren (1968), that it is useful to postulate an Assertive operator as a marker of Declarative sentences, even though English does not seem to have a clear surface marker for such sentences:

"Although in English assertions do not usually have overt surface features to distinguish them from propositions such as occur in subordinate clauses (unless one takes the declarative sentence intonation as such a feature), there are reasons for adopting a separate sentence qualifier".

Seuren (1968) (p. 136).

In Kiluguru declarativeness is marked in the verb by way of stressed or CV-subject concord if the sentence is positive, and by a special negative concord if the sentence is negative, (see next chapter). Thus, the so called 'emphasis' that is perceived in absolute verb forms or in a predicate nominal, is the phonetic realization of the Assertive operator, which is quite different from linking copula.<sup>9</sup> It is this element that migrates from the predicate nominal to the verb after RP-deletion. This happens in order to obey the constraints of the placement of nuclear stress. It does not, however, mean that the verb becomes part of the focus. Rather the focus falls within the scope of nuclear stress. It is, therefore, necessary to draw a distinction between focus, nuclear stress and scope of nuclear stress. It would, thus, be inappropriate to replace the special 'be' in the diagrams above by 'focus',



since the two are distinct.

It seems to me, therefore, that the two sets of indicative verb-forms in Kiluguru represent a convergence of prosodics, syntax and semantics. Insofar as we have to distinguish stressed and unstressed concords we are dealing with prosodics. Insofar as the stressed and unstressed forms occur in different syntactic environments, we are dealing with syntax; and insofar as the stressed forms are associated with Assertiveness, we are dealing with the semantics of a sentence.

(ii) It will also help to explain why the verb transforms into absolute form after Relative Pronoun deletion in Declarative sentences. For, after RP deletion the predicate nominal is no longer able to carry declarative nuclear stress as the copula (as a linking verb) is deleted along with the RP. Nuclear stress has no alternative but to migrate to the verb - which calls for the absolute or stressed form of the verb since the other form cannot carry nuclear stress.

This, however, does not explain why the same process does not occur in specific interrogative sentences (see Chapter on Questions). Possibly nuclear stress is, in this case, absorbed into the Interrogative Pronoun.<sup>10</sup> In a way, this proves the uniqueness of the way in which nuclear stress is realized in declarative sentences.

(iii) The constraints governing the occurrence of nuclear stress may also help to explain why there is so much constituent movement in Kiluguru. In order to

receive focal stress, an NP must stand immediately after either the copula or the absolute verb-form. (The latter position is derived from the former through RP deletion, etc.). The normal order of elements in Kiluguru is roughly as follows:

(TIME ADV) + SUBJECT + VERB + (INDIR.OBJ.)+(OBJECT)+(LOCAT.)

1                      2                      3                      4                      5                      6

E.g.(22)Ligolo Lukowo kamgela imwana likododo munguo

(Yesterday Lukowo threw child mud on dress)

= Yesterday Lukowo threw mud on the child's dress.

(Lit. Yesterday ... on the child on the dress)

Any of the nominals in this sentence can receive focal stress, including the Adverbial of Time. This can be realized in two ways in surface structure: by the predicate nominal construction as in (i) and (ii) below or by absolute verb-form plus nominal as in (iii): (For meaning of symbols, see below).

A. / 1 / 2 // 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 // VP Focus

B. (i) / 2 / 3r + 4 + 5 + 6 // 1 // TIME ADV. Focus

(ii) / 2 / 4 / 5 / 6 / 3r // 1 // Verb close to Focus

(iii) / 2 / 4 / 5 / 6 // 3a + 1 // Verb and Focus form one tone-group.

Lukowo, imwana, Likododo, munguo, kamgela ligolo.

C. (i) / 1 / 3r + 4 + 5 + 6 // 2 // SUBJECT Focus

(ii) / 1 / 4 / 5 / 6 / 3r // 2 // Verb close to Focus

(iii) / 1 / 4 / 5 / 6 // 3a + 2 // Verb + Focus one tone-group (by Analogical RP deletion).

Ligolo, imwana, likododo, munguo, lingela Lukowo.

D. (i) \* / 1 / 2 / 3r + 5 + 6 // 4 // I.O. Focus

Passivisation preferred.

(ii) / 1 / 3r + 5 + 6 + 2 // 4 //

Passive  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} +na \\ +Agent \end{array} \right]$

RP deletion not possible.

Ligolo, yageligwe likododo munguo na Lukowo ( ) imwana.

E. (i) / 1 / 2 / 3r + 4 + 6 // 5 // Object Focus

(ii) / 1 / 2 / 4 / 6 / 3r // 5 // Verb close to Focus.

(iii) / 1 / 2 / 4 / 6 // 3a + 5 // Verb and Focus

interlocked.

Ligolo, Lukowo, imwana, likododo, kangela munguo.

r = relative form.

a = absolute form.

// = secondary stress group.

// // = nuclear stress group.

+ = belonging within the same stress group.

We have tended to dislocate to the left, but, in practice, left and right may be used freely. The crucial factor is that no NP other than the focused one should be within the same tone group with the verb, after attraction to focus. The verb is phonologically interlocked with the focused constituent.

## CHAPTER TWELVE

### FOCUS AND NEGATION

Evidence in support of the hypothesis that the use of the Absolute form of the verb is closely associated with focus and nuclear stress<sup>is</sup> further provided by the distributional pattern of single/double negative markers in Kiluguru. Double negative marking tends to occur in precisely those syntactic environments in which the absolute verb-form would occur in the positive. Where the non-absolute verb-form is used in the positive, only a single negative marker occurs in the negative. I would like to suggest that the two negative markers occurring in the environments just described are related to each other as NEGATION and NEGATION CONCORD, much in the same way as SUBJECT is related to SUBJECT CONCORD.

Before attempting to explore this aspect of the topic, I wish to discuss briefly some of the facts of negation in Kiluguru.

It will be recalled from Part 1 that negative Command in Kiluguru is expressed by a complex structure consisting of a lexical verb with negative connotation, (i.e. leka = refrain) and a verb expressing the action that is the object of the order as shown below:

Positive command: (1) Lawa! (= go out)

Negative command: (2) Leka ukulawa! (= don't go out)  
(Leave - to go out).

The verb expressing the relevant action is always in infinitive form and stands in complement to 'leka'

which may be regarded as the Imperative Negative operator. 'Leka' however, does not only function as an operator in the sense described. It can also stand alone.

(3) Leka! (= leave (it) or stop (it) ).

Another area of negation worth considering is the negative particles. The main independent negative particles are AKA!, BAYE, MBE, all of which mean, in various degrees of intensity, NO. The semantic differences between the three is difficult to bring out clearly. As we shall see later, BAYE and MBE can also be used as integral parts of the sentence, as exponents of the Assertive operator associated with certain sentence types. In this sense they may be described as Negative Assertion operators. AKA is only used as a self-sufficient expression of denial. (Its utterance is often accompanied by a shrug of the shoulder - to indicate emotional intensity of denial).

Besides the independent negative particles there exists a negative affix  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \eta(a)- \\ si(-) \end{array} \right\}$  which is usually attached to the non-absolute form of the verb. 'Si' is only used for first person singular and before predicate nominals and adjectives.

e.g. (4) Imwana n - o - lila mbe/baye  
(Child not-he- cry no)

(5) Ne(ne) si - i - lila mbe/baye  
(I not- I - cry no)  
I am not crying.

(6) Imwana si mutamu mbe/baye  
(Child not sick no)  
The child is not sick.

What we understand by double negatives is amply illustrated by the last three sentences in which negation is marked at two places: before the verb (as affix) and in clause final position (as an independent particle). Distributionally, this looks like the relationship of 'ne' and 'pas' in French. The French double negative marking is often described as a case of morphological discontinuity. This explanation would not hold for Kiluguru because, in Kiluguru, double marking of negation is restricted to certain syntactic environments only. There are environments where negation must be marked only once.

Two negative-markers environments:

(i) Independent Declarative Sentences:

(7) Lukowo n - a - was - ile mbe/baye.

(Lukowo not-he-sleep-Perf no)

Lukowo is not asleep.

(8) Lukowo n - a - sol - ile citabu mbe/baye

(Lukowo no<sup>st</sup>-he -take- Perf (any) book no)

Lukowo did not take any book.

(ii) Polarity Questions (i.e. Yes-No questions):

(9) Lukowo n - a - was - ile mbe/baye?

Isn't Lukowo asleep?

(10) Lukowo n - a - sol - ile citabu mbe/baye?

Didn't Lukowo take a(ny) book?

(iii) Certain Complement Clauses (i.e. after verbs of saying, thinking, etc.):

(11) Lukowo kalonga imwana n - a - was - ile mbe/baye

= Lukowo said the child was not asleep.

- (12) Lukowo kagiza mai wake ŋ - a - mu-one mbe/baye  
= Lukowo thought his mother didn't see him.

Single negative marker environments:

(a) Affixal (i.e. ŋ(a)-/si):

(i) Relative Clauses:

- (13) Ya-ŋa - lil - ile Lukowo  
(RP-not - cry- Perf Lukowo)

The one who didn't cry was Lukowo.

- (14) \* Ya - na - lil - ile baye Lukowo

(ii) Constituent Questions (specific questions):

- (15) Imwana ŋ - o - lila vihi?

(Child not-he- cry why)

= Why isn't the child crying?

- (16) \* Imwana ŋ - o - lila mbe/baye vihi?

It will be recalled from earlier discussion that constituent questions are derived through pseudo-clefting, which in turn involves a Relative Clause. So basically (i) and (ii) are not so different, inasmuch as (ii) presupposes (i).

Adverbial clauses of Time, Place and Manner were also shown to be closely related to Relative clauses in form. They behave like Relative clauses also under negation.

(iii) Conditional Clauses:

- (17) Imwana ana ŋ - o - lila, umuleke

(The child if not-he-crying leave-him  
(alone).

= If the child isn't crying leave him  
(alone).

(18) \* Imwana ana n - o - lila mbe/baye umuleke.

(19) Ana n - a - lim - ile alonge

(If not-he cultivate-Perf let him say so)

If he didn't cultivate let him say so.

(20) \* Ana n - a - lim - ile - mbe/baye alonge.

(iv) Dependent Questions:

(21) Lukowo koguza imwana ana n - a - lamuk - e.

(Lukowo asks child if not- he-wake-Perf.)

= Lukowo is asking whether the child isn't  
awake.

(22) \*Lukowo koguza imwana ana n-a-lamuk-e baye.

Dependent questions are like Conditional clauses,  
insofar as they are both introduced by the operator 'ana'.

(b) Independent Particle (mbe/baye).

These negative particles can be used independently  
in response to Yes-No questions.

e.g. (23) Maa kuwasa? Neg. - Response:  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mbe} \\ \dots \\ \text{Baye} \end{array} \right\}$

(Already you-sleep)

= Are you in bed already? No.

But they can also occur alone in certain  
constructions, which in many respects look like reduced  
conjuncts.

(i) Reduced Conjunctive Clause:

(24) Imwana kakunogela guegue, nene mbe/baye.

(The child likes you, me no)

The child likes you, but not me.



(25) Nokulongela siku lingi, leeloli mbe/baye.

(I will tell you some day, today no)

I will tell you some day, but not today.

The two sentences can be regarded as cases of Reduction. That is to say, the segment on the right of the comma represents a reduced conjunct clause - a clause which remains after those elements of it that are identical with those of the first clause, have been deleted (Conjunction-reduction Transformation):

(26) Imwana kokunogela guegue, nene ŋ-o-nogel-a mbe/  
baye

(Child SC OC like you me - not-he-like no)

= The child likes you, but he does not like me.

(ii) Negative Tag Questions:

(27) Mai wako ambe koka, baye? \*mbe

(Mother your (I suppose) go, not-so)

= (I suppose) your mother is gone, isn't she?

(28) Yalongile ambe guegue, baye? \*mbe.

(The one who said (it) (I suppose) is you,  
not-so)

= You said it, didn't you?

In both cases the expected answer is yes. Here again it can be said that these sentences represent reduction in an alternative question. But for the presence of 'ambe', which lends more weight to the positive side of the alternative, the sentences could be formulated as perfect alternative questions.

Thus:

(29) Mai wako koka au ŋ - a - uk - ile baye? \*mbe

(Mother your gone or not-she-go-Perf no)

= Is your mother gone or is she not gone?

(30) Yalongile guegue au si guegue baye? \*mbe

(The one who said(it) you or is-not you no)

= Is it you who said (it) or is it not you?

One interesting feature of alternative questions and negative tag questions is the non-acceptability of 'mbe' as an alternative to 'baye'. This shows that there is a semantic difference between the two negative particles, which accounts for the non-acceptability of one of them in this particular environment. Hopefully, future research will shed some light on this and other problems raised by the data given above.

Leaving aside the question of the use of independent particles as single markers of negation, we will now tabulate the form of the verb that would occur in similar environments had the clauses or sentences involved been positive.

<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>POSITIVE</u>
Declarative: ŋ - a - was - ile baye	ka - was - a
ŋ - a - sol - ile...baye	ka - sol - a ...
Polarity Quest: ŋ-a-was-ile baye?	ka - was - a?
ŋ - a - sol - ile...baye?	ka - sol - a ...?
Factive Cimpl: ŋ - a - was - ile baye	ka - was - a
ŋ - a - mu - nn - e baye	ka - mu - on - a
Relative Cl.: ya - ŋ - a - lil - ile	ya - a - lil-ile
Const.Quest: (vi-) ŋ - o - lil - a	(vi-)a/o-lil-a

	<u>NEGATIVE</u>	<u>POSITIVE</u>
Conditional:	ana ŋ - o - lil - a	ana o - lil - a
	ana ŋ - a - lim - ile	ana a - lim - ile
Dependent Q.:	ana ŋ-a -a-lamuk-e	ana a-lamuk - e

The picture that emerges from this, regarding the use of the Absolute/Non-absolute form of the verb in relation to single/double negative markers, can be expressed in the following way:

	<u>NON-ABSOLUTE</u>	<u>ABSOLUTE</u>
POSITIVE	a - was - ile	ka - was - a
NEGATIVE	ŋ - a - was - ile	ŋ - a - was -ile <u>baye</u>

From the distributional point of view, it could be said that single negative markers are found in those sentence strings introduced by subordinate operators like Relative Pronouns and the Conditional operator 'ana'. This is precisely what distinguishes the two sets of clause types in the table above: in the last four clause types, the negative marker ŋ- is preceded by a subordinating operator either attached or not attached to the verb; in the first three sentence types the negative marker ŋ- is not preceded by an operator. This is a reliable rule to go by, provided that one remembers that the rule holds even when the subordinator is transformationally deleted, as in the case of constituent questions.

The facts described above also suggest the need to differentiate different types of complement clauses, as indicated earlier. The negative complements of the verbs

'say' and 'ask' are remarkably different, insofar as the negative marking is concerned. The former requires two markers, the latter one.

(31) Ka - longa imwana n - o - lila baye.

He said the child is not crying.

(32) Ka - guza imwana ana n - o - lila.

He asked whether the child was not crying.

The infinitive and Subjunctive type of complements are a little more complex under negation. The question will not be gone into here.

Although the structural rule by which the occurrence of single/double negative markers can be determined has already been given, no attempt has so far been made to specify the role of the second negative markers in those environments in which two markers occur. At the beginning of this section, we said that double negative markers are related to each other as NEGATION and NEGATIVE CONCORD just like SUBJECT and SUBJECT CONCORD. Since the occurrence of BAYE or MBE at the end of a clause as a second negative marker presupposes the presence of na- or si(-) in the verb, we would like to suggest that the primary marker of negation is  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} na- \\ si(-) \end{array} \right\}$

The second negative marker, Baye/Mbe, serves as an exponent of Declarative 'be' or the Assertive operator. It fulfills exactly the same function as the CV- or stressed subject concord in the positive. Observe that the verb in a negative sentence is invariably non-absolute. It cannot as such, be used in a declarative sentence. For this purpose, it needs a special operator

to transform it to absolute status. The exponent of this operator is Baye/Mbe. Thus, Baye/Mbe is not, strictly speaking, a marker of negation, but an exponent of Assertion with a negative echo. The real marker of negation is the negative affix attached to the verb. The operator only echoes this negation, much in the same way as concords echo the features of the element they are in concord with. Hence the suggestion that the two are related to each other as NEGATION and NEGATIVE CONCORD.

We have, by no means, solved all the problems connected with the use of double/single negatives or of absolute/relative verb form. Many problems remain unresolved. Hopefully, future research will shed more light on some of them.

We will conclude by illustrating how different constituents are negated in Kiluguru.

Proposition: Lukowo - Past - gula icitabu.

(i) VP Negation: Lukowo na - gul - ile citabu mbe/baye  
not-buy - Perf book.

Lukowo did not buy any book, i.e. he  
may have done something else.

The most characteristic feature of VP negation is that all NP's within the tone-group of the verb are without a SPECIFIER, i.e. indefinite or non-referential. The occurrence of a SPECIFIER would automatically mark the noun, and not the VP as focus or the real and only scope of negation. Such a situation would arise from what we have called attraction of verb to focus.

(ii) NP<sub>1</sub> negation:

Ya - gul - ile icitabu si Lukowo baye.

RP - buy - Perf book  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{cop} \\ \text{neg} \end{array} \right\}$  Lukowo

The one who bought the book is not Lukowo,  
i.e. maybe someone else.

(iii) V negation:

Icitabu, Lukowo n - a - gul - ile baye

(Book Lukowo not-he-buy - Perf no)

= Lukowo did not BUY the book, i.e. he may  
have stolen it, for instance, or refrained  
from buying it, contrary to expectation.

(iv) NP<sub>2</sub> negation:

(A) Ci - gul - ile Lukowo si icitabu baye

RP - buy - Perf Lukowo  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{cop} \\ \text{neg} \end{array} \right\}$  book no.

= What Lukowo bought was not the book, i.e.  
it may be a book other than the speaker  
has in mind. If the speaker wants to be  
generic in reference, the SPECIFIER will  
be dropped from 'icitabu' to give:

Ci - gul - ile Lukowo si citabu baye

What Lukowo bought is not a book, i.e.  
it may be a pencil, a ruler, etc.

(B) Lukowo n - a - gul - ile icitabu mbe/baye

Lukowo not - buy - Perf (the) book no.

= What Lukowo bought is not the book or  
Lukowo did not buy THE BOOK.

In (B) the verb is attracted to focus. That is, (B) is derived from (A) through the process of Proximization and RP deletion, as repeatedly explained earlier. Perhaps we had better indicate briefly the various stages again here:

(A) (i) Ci - gul - ile Lukowo si icitabu baye.

Proximization: (optional).

(ii) Lukowo ci - a - gul - ile si icitabu baye.

RP deletion: (optional).

(iii) Lukowo ~~ci~~ - a - gul - ile si icitabu baye.  
[+neg]

Verb-attraction to Focus: (obligatory).

(B)(iv) Lukowo ŋ - a - gul - ile icitabu baye.  
[+neg]

Apparently, analogical RP deletion may not occur in negation. Thus (33) which results from (ii) (of p.314) by analogical RP deletion is ill-formed.

(33) \*Icitabu ŋa - ci - gul - ile Lukowo baye.  
The RP must be retained and the pseudo-cleft construction preserved, But proximization can optionally be performed on (ii) to yield (34).

(34) Icitabu ya - gul - ile si Lukowo baye.

NOTES TO PART ONE

1. Ki-luguru is deliberately spelt with the Swahili prefix ki- throughout this work. The Waluguru call their language "Ci-lugulu". Other writers refer to it as RUGURU. Notice that /l/ and /r/ are interchangeable. Our spelling conforms to that found in official documents today. *The hyphen is used to indicate morpheme boundary.*
2. Notice the Class variations:  
    Wa-luguru (= Luguru people) Class 2  
    m-luguru (= luguru man) Class 1  
    ki-luguru (= luguru language) Class 7  
    u-luguru (= luguru country) Class 14
3. Inevitably, certain clans controlled more land than others.
4. For various criteria of Bantuness see Johnston (1922), Guthrie (1948), Doke (1935).
5. Johnston (1919) Vol. I, pp.141- 153.
- 5b. Quoted from "Mkwawa", a poem by Shaaban Robert.
6. Both articles to be found in Guthrie (1970), pp.47-56, 79-89, esp.
7. Also known as Meinhof's Law. See 2.2.3 f for explanation.
8. In fact the system was set up and published by C.R. Lepsius in 1855 and later adopted and improved upon by Meinhof.
9. Founded in 1886.
10. Founded in 1926.
11. This is not true of Sotho (a language spoken in Southern Africa) where verbal concords are said to be written separately from the verbal stem.
12. Note the coalescence of vowels here: e < a + i
13. These sentences are taken from Doke (1941) pp.100 - 114.



14. Quoted by Doke in his Bantu Linguistic Terminology, (1935) p.18, from Bryant's Zulu-English Dictionary.
15. The pages here refer to Guthrie (1970) i.e. *Collected Works, which includes Guthrie's 'Bantu Word Division' pp.5-32.*
16. The relevant phonemes here are those which appear in stem initial position.
17. Meinhof (1932) p. 183.
18. This suggests that /z/ could profitably be treated as a voiced stop in Kiluguru.
19. The majority of such nouns belong to Class 5:  
    e.g. li-i-ṅongolo (=centipede)  
        li-i-ṅopo (= beast)  
        li-i-kova (= snail)
20. Class pairing is far from neat in Kiluguru. Appendix I is an attempt to put together in a systematic way subsets and cross-pairings of Classes.
21. This element is referred to by various names in Bantu literature: such as Preprefix, Initial vowel, or (viewed in conjunction with the prefix) Reduplicated prefix, Double prefix, Disyllabic prefix, Augment. The term Augment is used by De Blois (1970). The same term is used by Guthrie to refer to fossilized noun-prefixes like -vi- in wa-vi-dege (= birds). See 3.2.3 for the latter point.
22. Marco'nnès F. appears to equate prefixes with articles. He is quoted by Gregerson (1967) as saying: "One cannot insist too strongly on the variability of the articles which the same noun can take".
23. The term recategorization is borrowed from Lyons (1968).
24. Secondary prefixes sometimes behave like specifiers. See 4.1.1.

25. The three locative prefixes represent irreconcilable dimensions:
  - mu- refers to a two or three dimension location
  - ku- refers to direction
  - ha- refers to a dimensionless location i.e. point.
26. In Bantu structure a word may not end in a consonant.
27. The term "Formative" refers to Tense/aspect and modality markers.
28. Much depends on how -ga is treated. If it is treated as an extensional or derivational morpheme then its appropriate place is before and not after the passive marker. The fact that it can occur after the passive marker indicates that it is very much unlike other extensional morphemes.
29. -a- is also used as a Tense/Aspect marker in the reflexive construction.
30. The perfective in -ile is sometimes reckoned among the derived forms of the verb because unlike the "real" tenses it is formed by a suffix.
31. After investigating a similar phenomenon in Swahili, H. Lambert came to the following conclusion:

"It would seem ... that it is only with verbs having formative end-syllables that the discontinuous allomorph :C-e is used" (J.I.S.R. 35 No.1 p.73).

My formulation however depends on the number of syllables rather than the presence of derivational morphemes. It may be noted here that Mould (1972) proposes that :C-e perfective form is a result of consonant loss.
32. The z/s alternation appears to be unpredictable here.
33. The number of extensional elements that can occur with one root form of a verb is only limited by the semantic meaning of the verb itself.
34. The ni/n alternation depends on the presence/absence of Object concord or pronoun.

35. This is said to be the case in Ndendeule (spoken in southern Tanzania).  
e.g. tola! (= take) ci-tol-a-i! (= take it)  
(J.M.Newa - personal communication).
36. The "Perfectum absolutum tense" (as understood in Latin) combines the notion of definite time in the past with permansive present. Thus "scripsi" can mean either 'I wrote' or 'I have written'. A similar situation obtains in Kiluguru.
37. I have no explanation for the fact that in the third person, singular and plural, the vowel is not doubled but replaced by /o/.
38. See 8.2.2.
39. By predicative complement here we mean something like the function of the underlined phrases in the following sentences.  
I found him crying.  
I found it broken.
40. See note 31 for alternation conditions. It should also be noted that there are a few monosyllabic verbs which take -ele instead of -ile.  
e.g. nu-a            nu-ele    (drink)  
      ni-a            ni-ele    (defecate)  
      su-a            su-ele    (set (of sun) )
41. The referent being always identical.
42. Imperfective understood in the Latin sense - amabat (= he was loving).
43. This should not be construed as a morphological discontinuity. See Chapter Twelve for explanation of the use of single/double negatives in Kiluguru.
44. Real condition can also be expressed by the Subjunctive or by the subordinator ana (= if) plus the Perfective relative tense.  
e.g. a-mu-lag-e = if he beats him  
      ana a-mu-lag-ile = if he beats him

45. The complex expression represented by these forms may be said to combine two phases of progression: termination and commencement.
46. In Cibemba (Givon 1970) the two verbs are said to be used both independently and as modals. *-isaa* means 'come' and *-ya* means 'go to'. Their use as modals is said to be a recent development. In Kiluguru only *-za* can be used independently.
47. This lends some support to Givon's hypothesis that verbal suffixes or extensions in Bantu languages were originally fully conjugable verbs (Givon 1971).
48. Environments in which the Specifier has determinable semantic import such as Definite vs. indefinite.
49. It seems to me to be much more logical to look upon the conjunction of nouns as a process which is only possible when two or more nouns can be reduced to a common denominator, such as people, things, etc. Concord then will be determined not by the conjunct as such but by the common denominator underlying the nouns concerned. This approach leaves room for creativeness in conjunction of nouns or noun phrases.
50. The verb 'give' has two underlying forms: *-i-* and *-gay-*. The two are in complementary distribution insofar as the latter occurs only with first person singular Object marker, as can be seen in example (8) p. 166. There is no evidence to show that the two are historically or phonologically related.
- 15a. The glides */y/* and */w/* will be represented as such when no morpheme boundaries are marked. If clarification of morpheme boundaries is desired, the corresponding vowel forms */i/* and */u/* will be used. When */y/* and */w/* are <sup>used</sup> ~~found~~ within morpheme boundaries it is assumed that they do not synchronically arise from vowels. Similarly when */i/* and */u/* are <sup>used</sup> ~~found~~ outside morpheme boundaries in a VV sequence it is assumed that disyllabification does not take place or is optional.
- 24a. Recategorization is therefore a useful way of finding out the underlying forms of Class 9/10 nouns.

NOTES TO PART TWO.

1. The Bantu languages studied by Meeussen are mainly those of the Congo group. No specific language is mentioned.
2. Although we give the same translation for the a and b sentences, it must be pointed out that the English translation must be read with a different intonation for the a and b sentences. For the b sentences the translation must be read with contrastive stress on the Subject.
3. "Spoken language in the classroom", Report of Moray House Seminar in Linguistics and Language Teaching, Edinburgh 1964.
4. -ik- and -igw- cannot<sup>co-</sup> occur with the same root. In this sense they exclude each other. One interesting difference between the two is that -ik- may be followed by other extensional morphemes such as the applicative; -gw- may not.  
e.g. bena ben-ek-a      ben-ek-el-a      (=break)  
      ben a ben-igw-a      \*ben-igw-il-a
5. Locative NP and Indefinite subject permutation is a common phenomenon in many languages.
6. Ross's constraint essentially specifies that constituents cannot be moved out of certain structural configurations, even though these configurations otherwise satisfy the structural description of a transformation which would move these constituents.
7. It is the task of linguistic philosophy to speculate about various modes of expression and their implications.
8. Per<sup>L</sup>mutter (1968) and Baker (1966) have both made interesting proposals regarding the indefinite article. Per<sup>L</sup>mutter posits a numeral source for it. Baker posits an existential source for it.

9. Strictly speaking the relative marker in ambalo is -lo which is affixed to amba- which functions as a supportive morpheme for relative pronouns.
10. This example is taken from Takizala (1972).
11. Jackendoff mentions these points without elaborating on them in his dissertation (1969): Semantic Interpretation and Generative Grammar. (Published in 1972)
12. Akmajidn (1970) makes a similar point when he says that a cleft sentence is syntactically derived from a pseudo-cleft sentence with a reduced initial clause.
13. Stress-focus is to be taken in a special sense here. Strictly speaking what is known as stress-focus in English does not exist in Kiluguru. i.e. there is no freedom to vary the position of stress within the same sentence form. However by referring to the question a sentence is supposed to answer it is possible to determine the focused constituent in the sentence... even if this constituent does not itself carry contrastive stress.
14. A similar derivation for pseudo-clefts is proposed by Chomsky (1970).
15. This hypothesis is supported by G. Lakoff and P.M. Postal, among others.
16. This implies no theoretical claim. It is only a convenient way of referring to non-subject specific questions.
17. By 'phonological break' we mean demarcation of phonological groups in an utterance.
18. The abbreviation SM (sentence modifier) is also used for the sake of convenience. I do not know a better way of representing topicalized NP's in a tree.
19. Quoted by Seiichi Nakada (1973), p. 432.

20. Relative Clause 'Raising' is a dubious transformation. It is intended to account for the disappearance of the relative clause in the given structural context. It is difficult to provide theoretical justification for it. I believe what is going on here has something to do with sentence stress placement as explained in Part Three.
21. In Part Three it is shown that the Kiluguru rules of sentence stress placement forbid the placement of nuclear stress on 'Iciya' or on any Noun phrase which is not a predicate nominal.
22. Case Grammar as expounded by Fillmore (1968).

NOTES TO PART THREE

1. This phenomenon closely resembles the intonation associated with assertion in English. Intonation as an exponent of modality is a well-known but poorly understood area of language.
2. A similar position is taken by Jackendoff (1972) who proposes that semantic interpretation should be related to various levels of syntactic derivation (see especially pp. 3 - 10).
3. Leech (1974) assigns priority of place to conceptual meaning on the ground that it is organized on the principles of contrastiveness and constituent structure - principles which operate also in syntax and phonology. Other types of meaning do not display such organisation.
4. The verbs 'criticize' and 'accuse' are said to be converses of each other with respect to what is asserted and what is presupposed by the speaker. 'Criticize' presupposes responsibility and asserts guilt. 'Accuse' presupposes guilt and asserts responsibility.
5. Viewing the noun as something containing several potential predicates by virtue of its semantic features each of which can be converted into a predicate is, I think, a more plausible approach than Bach's (1968) suggestion that every noun occurs as predicate in deep structure - predicate to some indefinite pronoun such as one or thing.
6. Sentence understood as a communicative unit.
7. I believe it is important to distinguish equational 'be' from Assertive 'be' even in a pseudo-cleft sentence. Think of the following sentences:
  - a. Ya - o - lila 'Cop' imwana  
The one who is crying is the child.
  - b. Ka - o - guza ana ni imwana ya-o-lila.  
He is asking if it is the child who is crying.



I would like to claim that the underlined element in a represents both equation and assertion, while the underlined element in b represents equation only.

8. 'Ogula' as a non-absolute verb form is equivalent to what David Dawty (1972) calls 'temporally restrictive adjectives' such as those underlined below:

The girl married young.

I saw John asleep.

I saw Harry alive.

Such syntactic positions would call for the use of the 'o-gula' forms in Kiluguru as opposed to 'i-ogula' (relative clause). The relationship of ogula to i-ogula is like that of indefinite to definite.

e.g. Nimuona : imwana i-ogula

I saw the child who is sick (= the sick child).

Nimwona ogula, imwana.

I saw him sick, the child (i.e. I saw the child while it was sick).

Notice the obligatory topicalization of 'imwana' in the second sentence.

9. See note 7 above (Part III).
10. Perhaps one could see some link between this phenomenon and the kind of intonation allowed in certain questions in English: A falling intonation is allowed in questions introduced by a question word.

APPENDIX I: CLASS SUBSETS AND CROSS PAIRINGS

I	II			III	IV			V	VI
	a	b	c		a	b	c		
A(1)	mu-	yu-	ka-	a(1)	mu	S	Ba	munu	person
				b(1a)	O	S	Bb	sekulu	grandpa
				c(7)	ci	S	Bc	cidege	bird
				d(9)	n	S	Bd	mene	goat
B(2)	wa-	wa-	wa-	a(2)	wa-	P	Aa	wanu	persons
				b(2a)	zina <sup>1</sup>	-P	Ab	zina- sekulu	grandpa's
				c(7)	wavi-	P	Ac	wavi- dege	birds
				d(9)	wa-	P	Ad	wamene	goats
C(3)	mu-	gu-	gu-	a(3)	mu-	S	Da	mubiki	tree
				b(?)	mu-	S	Fb	mugulu	leg
D(4)	mi-	i-	i-	a(4)	mi-	P	Ca	mibiki	trees
				b(12)	mi-	P		migala	feathers
				c(6)	mi-	P	-	midesi	vomit
				d(5)	mi-	P	E	mituwe	covers
E(5)	*i-	li-	li-	a(5)	i	S	Fa	ibwe	stone
				b(5a)	i	S	Dd	ituwe	cover
F(6)	ma-	ga-	ga-	a(6)	ma	P	Ea	mabwe	stones
				b(6)	ma	P	Cb	magulu	legs
				c(6)	ma	P	-	mate	saliva
G(7)	ci-	ci-	ci-	a(7)	ci	S	Ha	ciya	pot

I	II			III	IV			V	VI
	a	b	c		a	b	c		
H(8)	vi-	vi-	vi-	a(8)	vi	P	Ga	viya	pots
				b(13)	vi	P		vigulu	leg'lets'
I(9)	n-	i-	i-	a(9)	n-	S	Ja	nenge	eye
J(10)	n	zi-	zi-	a(10)	n-	P	Ia	nenge	eyes
				b(11)	n-	P		ngodi	firewood
K(11)	lu-	lu-	lu-	a(11)	lu-	S	Db	lugala	feather
L(13)	la-	la-	la-	a(13)	la	S	Hb	lagula	leg-'let'
M(14)	u	u	u	a(14)	u	S	-	ugali	food
N(15)	ku-	ku-	ku-	a(15)	ku-	*	-	kulonga	to say
				b(17)	ku-	<sup>2</sup> *	-	kunu	place to
O(16)	ha-	ha-	ha-	a(16)	ha-	S	-	hanu	place at
P(18)	mu-	mu-	mu-	a(18)	mu-	S	-		place in

Code to the Table:

- I: Designation of Concord Group with traditional number in parentheses. e.g. A(1) = (Group A, Class 1).
- II: a Adjectival Prefix  
b Pronominal prefix  
c Verbal Subjective Prefix
- III: Designation of noun set with traditional number in parentheses.

- IV:   a Prefix of Noun Set  
      b Number of most nouns in set.  
      c Designation of partner in singular-plural  
        pairing.

V:     Example

VI:    English Gloss

Notes: 1. Zina- is used only with reference to animates  
          especially humans. It is a peculiar form. It  
          is also used to mean "X and co".

e.g. Zina-Juma = Juma and co.

      Zina-Mwenda = Mwenda and co, or and family.

2. It is a phonological coincidence that these  
   two fall together. Semantically they have  
   nothing or hardly anything in common.

APPENDIX II: SUMMARY OF PROTO-BANTU MARKERS

(Meeussen 1967).

CLASS	NP	EP	PP	I <sup>a</sup>	II <sup>b</sup>	III <sup>c</sup>	I	II	III
1	mu-	u-?	ju-	n-	u-	u-,a-	-n-	ku-	-mu-
2	ba-	ba-	ba-	tu-	mu-	ba-	tu-	mu-	-ba-
3	mu-	u-?	gu			gu-			-gu-
4	mi-	i-?	gi			gi-			-gi-
5	i-	di-	di-			di-			-di-
6	ma-	a-?	ga-			ga			-ga-
7	ki-	ki-	ki-			ki-			-ki-
8	bi-	bi-	bi-			bi-			-bi-
9	n-	i-?	ji-			ji-			-ji-
10	n-	i-?	ji-			ji-			-ji-
11	du-	du-	du-			du-			-du-
12	ka-	ka-	ka-			ka-			-ka-
13	tu-	tu-	tu-			tu-			-tu-
14	bu-	bu-	bu-			bu-			-bu-
* 15	pa-	pa-	pa-			pa-			-pa-
16	ku-	ku-	ku-			ku-			-ku-
17	mu-	mu-	mu-			mu-			-mu-
18	pi-	pi-	pi-			pi-			-pi-
(24)	i-	i-	i-?			?			?
* 15	ku	ku	ku			ku			ku

NP = Numeral prefix

EP = Enumerative Prefix

PP = Pronominal Prefix

III<sup>c</sup> = Subject verbal-concord. I<sup>a</sup> & II<sup>b</sup> refer to 1st and 2nd person.

III = Object verbal-concord.

APPENDIX III: SUMMARY OF KILUGURU CLASS MARKERS

CLASS	NP	EP	PP	I	II	III	I	II	III
1	mu-	u	yu	n-	ku/u-	ka/a-	-n-	-ku-	-mu-
2	wa-	wa-	wa-	tu-	mu-	wa-	tu-	-mu-	-wa-
3	mu-	gu-	gu-			gu-			-gu-
4	mi-	i-	i-			i-			-i-
5	i-	li-	li-			li-			-li-
6	ma-	ga-	ga-			ga-			-ga-
7	ci-	ci-	ci-			ci-			-ci-
8	vi-	vi-	vi-			vi-			-vi-
9	n-	i-	i-			i-			-i-
10	n-	zi-	zi-			zi-			-zi-
11	lu-	lu-	lu-			lu-			-lu-
12*	ka-	ka-	ka-			ka-			-ka-
13	la-	la-	la-			la-			-la-
14	u-	u-	u-			u-			-u-
15	ku-	ku-	ku-			ku-			-ku-
16	ha-	ha-	ha-			ha-			-ha-
17	ku-	ku-	ku-			ku-			-ku-
18	mu-	mu-	mu-			mu-			-mu-

\* Occurs with numerals in particular contexts.

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Meaning of Abbreviations occuring in the Bibliography:

CLC = Chicago Linguistic Club

FL = Foundations of Language

JISR = Journal of the Institute of Swahili Research

Lg = Language

SAL = Studies in African Linguistics

SaS = Slovo a slovesnost (Praha)

TLP = Travaux Linguistiques de Prague